THE HISTORY OF HENRY IV. SURNAMED The Great, King of *France* and *Navarre*.

Georges — Jeanne

Written Originally in French,

By the Biſhop of *Rodez*, once Tutor to
his now moſt Chriſtian Majeſty;

And made Engliſh by *J. D.*

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To his Sacred Majeſty,

CHARLES
THE SECOND,
King of *Great Britain*,
France and *Ireland*.

Dread SIR,

WIth all that *humble* Reverence that *becomes* a *Low* but *Loyal Subject* and *Servant* to his Sovereign *Lord* and *Maſter*, caſt I at Your *feet* this preſent *Addreſs*. Thoſe *Stars*

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that move in the *Loweſt* Orb, receive their *light* and *luſtre* from the *Sun*, as well as *thoſe* that *wander* in a more *exalted* heaven; and therefore, may poſsibly be *capable* to return ſome *grateful* Influences, though not in ſo great a *quantity*, yet in a *quality* as *pure* and *candid*.

However, all my *courage* could not have *inſpired* me with a *preſumption* to *preſent* any thing of *mine* to ſo *glorious* a Majeſty, had it not born in its *Frontiſpice* the name of HENRY THE

GREAT, Your *Royal* and *Renowned* Grandfather; a *Prince* of ſo *Sublime* a Virtue, of ſo *Heroick* a Courage, of ſuch *Activity* in War, and ſuch *Prudence* in Peace, that he *juſtly* became both the *love* and *terror* of the age he lived in.

And, *Great Sir*, give me leave to tell you, that never did the *Life* of any *Prince* ſince the *Creation*, bear ſo equal a *Parallel* with *Your Maieſtie's*, as that of this *Renowned* King. If your *miſeries* and *misfortunes* have *exceeded* his, God hath made it by *evident* Demonſtrances *appear* that he *intends* to make your *Glories* and *Happineſs* as far *ſurpaſs* thoſe of your *Royal* Grandfather. *You both* had *Leaguers* armed with *Rebellion*, *Obſtinacy* and *Ambition*, under a *Cloak* of *zeal* to *Religion*, to *oppoſe* you; and *you both*, aſsiſted by a *Miraculous* Providence of Heaven, *overcame* them. *You both* by Arms long *ſtruggled* for your Rights: but as if God had intended *you both* for *true Fathers* of your *Countries*, and the *Foundations* whereon he would ſettle an abſolute *happineſs* in your *Kingdoms*, ſo long *afflicted* with *Civil* Wars, and thoſe *terrours* which attend them; he brought *you both* to *ſpotleſs* Thrones, *unbeſmeared* with *blood*.

How ſoon was *France* redeemed from thoſe *plagues* it ſo long had *endured*, at the *entrance* of the *Great Henry* into the *Chair* of *Royalty*, who as a *Riſing* Sun, *darted* forth thoſe *Salutiferous* rayes which *ſhone* upon, and *enriched* the *remoteſt* parts of his Territories! How ſoon were all *Factions* diſsipated!

and

and how ſoon did he by his *Prudent* Conduct *reconcile* the moſt *obſtinate* Spirits! In fine, in how ſhort time was *France*, from a Den of *Atheiſts*, *Theeves*, and *Robbers*, become the Nurſery of *Piety*, *Arts* and *Induſtry*!

England (Dread Soveraign) *ſuffered* under the ſame *Fate* her neighbouring *Siſter* had long ſince been *Subject* to, when *Heaven* was *graciouſly* pleaſed to *reſtore* you to your *Crown*: And you have *already* made us not onely *hope*, but *ſee*, that you have *deſigned* to *reſtore* to us ſuch *happineſſes*, that we cannot juſtly *envy* thoſe which *France* enjoyed under her *beloved* HENRY. How well have you *ſetled* both our *Church* and *State*? How well have you *reconciled* our *Diſſentions*? with how much *too* great a *mercy* (give me Sir leave to *fear* ſo) have you *pardoned* the moſt *obſtinate* of your enemies? and how may we *hope* (if the *malice* of thoſe *obſtinate* Spirits yet *diſturb* not our *Tranquillity*) to enjoy under your Government the moſt *happy* and *flouriſhing* daies that ever *Great Britain* beheld!

But Sir, that I may conclude, and not ſeem tedious to your Majeſty; may the *God of heaven* inſpire into the *hearts* of your *people* a true *ſenſe* of your *goodneſs* and *paternal* love to them; may he *correct* the *improbous* malice of thoſe who yet dare to be your *enemies*; may he *incline* you ſtill to *proſecute* ſuch *Maximes* of *good* Government, both in *Church* and *State*, as may make both equally *Flouriſh*; may he *Augment* your *Glories*, and raiſe them *above* thoſe of your *Grand-father*, Henry the Fourth; may he *bleſs* us *all*, by giving you a *long* and *happy* Reign; and when that *miſery* (though late) *arrives* us of loſing you, may we yet be made *bleſſed* in that *Succeſsion* from your *Loynes* that may *endure for ever.* Thus Prayes,

SIR,

The humbleſt *and* faithfulleſt,
though the meaneſt *of your Majeſties Subjects and Servants,*

J. D.

The Tranſlator *to the* Reader.

BEhold here a Hiſtory compiled by one of the moſt able, and (let me teſtifie thus much) one of the moſt moderate and impartial Pens of *Europe*. It was fitted for the hand of a King; and is the Life of one whom his own Actions will declare to have better deſerved the name of *Great*, then that proud *Macedonian*, who wept that he had no more Worlds to conquer. For though he gained not ſuch ſignal Victories, nor over-ran ſo many Countries; yet he was poſſeſſed of more Vertues, then the other of Cities; and Vertue is the faireſt Mother of true Greatneſs. But, *Reader*, I foreſtal thy delight in its Reading: go on, therefore; but with Deliberation.

J. D.

The

THE AUTHOR TO THE READER.

READER,

THis Hiſtory of **Henry** *the Great, is onely a ſmall part of the Summary or Epitomy of the general Hiſtory of* **France**, *which I have compoſed by the command of the King, and for the inſtruction of his Majeſty. It having been my intention onely to gather together all that might ſerve to form* *a great Prince, and render him capable of Reigning well; I have not thought it convenient to enter into a particular Recital of things, or to recount at length all Wars and Affairs, as* Hiſtorians *do, who are to write for all ſorts of perſons. I have onely took the Sum, and recounted thoſe Circumſtances I have judged the faireſt, and the moſt inſtructive; leaving apart all the reſt, to ſhorten matter, and to give in epitomy an account of all that paſſed, which might inform the ſpirit of the King, without ſurcharging his memory. This hath been my deſigne: if it hath not ſucceeded ſo well as could be wiſh'd, I hope,* READER, *that my Endeavour will appear praiſe-worthy. I doubt not but there are in this Work ſome Miſtakes which I may not have perceived, but which cannot eſcape Eyes more clear-*

clear-ſighted. The Hiſtory is accompanied with ſo many Circumſtances, that it is almoſt impoſſible not to be deceived in ſome: Yet I believe I have written nothing for which I have not my Warrant. And if you finde in any Author the contrary of what I have ſaid, I intreat you to conſider that our Hiſtorians do in many things ſo differ among themſelves, that who takes the judgement of one, muſt neceſſarily contradict the other. In this diverſity I have followed thoſe whom I believed the beſt and moſt aſſured. I acknowledge likewiſe that I could not refrain borrowing from them whole Paragraphs where they have pleaſed me, and that I have thought I could better explain my ſelf by their Expreſſions, then my own. However, if this be a fault, it is but a light one, and ought to be par-

pardoned, ſince ingenuouſly confeſt. For other more remarkable ones I may have committed, I preſume on your goodneſs, that, Reader, *you will not treat me with the utmoſt* rigour; *but that you will have as much indulgence for me, as I have in this Work had Zeal for the Service of my King, and Affection for the good of* France.

THE HISTORY OF HENRY the Great, King of *France* and *Navarre*.

To the King.

SIR,

THat Reſpect and Love which all good French-men have ſtill conſerved for the happy Memory of King *Henry* the Great your Grandfather, repreſents it ſelf as freſh to their remembrance, as if he ſtill reigned; and

Renown conſerves the Splendour of his fair Actions in the Hearts and Mouthes of Men, as lively and entirely as in the time of his Triumphs. But we may ſay moreover, when we conſider your Majeſty, That he hath regained a new Life in your Perſon, and that he makes himſelf dayly be ſeen under a Viſage yet more Auguſt, and by Vertues which appear as redoubtable to the Enemies of *France*, as they are ſweet and charming to its People.

In truth, Sir, that praiſe-worthy Impatience which your Majeſty hath teſtified (when I preſented our Hiſtory to your reading) to come to this glorious Reign, and for it to leave behind ſeven or eight others of Kings that preceded him, is a moſt certain proof that you deſire him for your Model, and that you have reſolved to ſtudy his Conduct, and conſerve it in the Government of your Eſtates. Your happy Birth, and your Inclinations wholly Royal, lead you to it: The Hopes and Votes of your Subjects agree to it: The Neceſſities of your Kingdom, afflicted with the Miſeries of the longeſt War it ever ſuſtained, oblige you to it; and Heaven hath diſpoſed you to it by ſo many Graces and eminent Qualities, that it would be difficult for you not to follow the fair Examples of this great Monarch. I dare likewiſe ſay (and I may ſpeak it with truth) that it will not be impoſſible for you to ſurpaſs him, if you enforce your ſelf to improve well all thoſe Advantages wherewith Heaven hath endowed you above other Princes of your Age.

Yes, Sir, he hath to you, as well as to the King your Grandfather, given a generous Soul, good and beneficent; a Spirit elevated, and capable of the greateſt things; a Memory happy and facile; a Courage Heroick and Martial; a Judgement neat and ſolid; a ſtrong and vigorous Health: but he hath moreover given you one Advantage this great Prince never had; that is, A Majeſtick Preſence; an Air and Port almoſt Divine; a Perſon and Beauty worthy the Empire of the Univerſe, which attracts the Eyes and Reſpects of all the World, and which without the force of Arms, without the authority of Commands, will gain you all thoſe by whom your Majeſty ſhall make your Self be ſeen.

I will not ſpeak of the Proſperities of your Eſtates ſince your happy Advancement to the Crown; how you have been proclaimed Conquerer as ſoon as King; how by the aſſiſting Counſels of your great Miniſters, your Frontiers have been extended on all ſides, and your Enemies everywhere defeated: but I ought not to forget that ſingular Grace which Heaven hath conferred on you, by inſtructing you in the Catholick Religion, and in true Piety, by the continual Diligences and Examples of the Queen your Mother; that which was without doubt wanting to the Youth of our *Henry*.

You cannot, Sir, with ſo fair Diſpoſitions, with ſo many ſuper-excelling Favours of Heaven, be confined beneath the Glory and Reputaputation of this great Prince. Remember, if you pleaſe, that you have done me the honour to tell me more then once, that you ardently aſpire to a like Perfection, and that you have no greater Ambition. All *France*, who at preſent have their Eyes upon you, rejoyce to ſee the Effects already ſecond your Deſires, and that you ſtrive as puiſſantly to imitate, as you have paſſionately deſired to hear the Recital of ſo fair a Life.

“Your Majeſty knows that Wills paſs but
“for Weakneſſes, when they render not them-
“ſelves efficacious; and are ſo far from being
“worthy praiſe, that they condemn thoſe
“who have them ſo much the more, becauſe
“they ſee well what they ought to do, and
“have not the heart to attempt or enterprize
“it. The way of Vertue at firſt glance ſeems
“rude, but it conducts to the Temple of
“Glory; where it is certain we arrive not by
“ſimple Thoughts, and idle Diſcourſes, but
“by Labour, Application and Perſeverance.

I have often taken the Liberty to repreſent to your Majeſty, That Royalty is no Infant-Myſtery; That it conſiſts almoſt altogether in Action; That a King ought to make his Duty his Delights; and, That he ought to know how to Reign; that is, how to hold himſelf the Helm of his Eſtate, the better to Conduct them with Vigour, Wiſdome and Juſtice.

“Who knows not that there is no Honour
“in bearing a Title, without executing the
“Functions of it? That it is in vain to have

“acquiſted

" acquired the beſt Knowledge, without la-
" bouring to reduce it into practice? That
" it is ridiculous to propoſe to our ſelves a
" great Model, unleſs it be effectually imita-
" ted? And in fine, that it is nothing to un-
" derſtand by heart all the Maximes of Poli-
" cy, if we apply them not to their right Uſe?
" Without lying, he that hath Eyes, and will
" not open them; who hath Arms, and will
" not take the pains to move them, is in a
" worſe eſtate then the Blinde or the Crip-
" ple.

I cannot diſſemble, Sir, that unſpeakable Joy I have ſometimes conceived, when I have underſtood from the Mouth of your Majeſty, *that you would chuſe rather never to have wore a Crown, then not your Self to govern it*, but reſemble thoſe Infant-Kings of the firſt Race, who, as all our Hiſtorians ſay, ſerved onely as Idols to the Majors of their Palace; and who had had no Name, but onely to mark the year in the Chronologie.

But it will be enough to make *France* know how much your Majeſty condemns that ſleepy Lethargie, to tell them that you are at preſent reſolved to imitate your Grandfather *Henry* the Great, who hath been the moſt active and moſt laborious of all our Kings; who hath dedicated himſelf with moſt Diligence to the Management of his Affairs, and who hath cheriſhed his Eſtates and People with moſt Affection and moſt Tenderneſs. This is to declare that your Majeſty hath taken a firm Reſolution to put your hand to the Work; to know both the inſide and outſide of your Realm; to preſide in your Counſels; to give feet and motion to all Reſolutions; to have a continual Eye over your Revenues; to cauſe a true, faithful and exact Account to be given; to diſtribute Graces and Recompences to thoſe of your Creatures ſhall prove worthy: in fine, fully and amply to enjoy your Authority. It is thus the incomparable *Henry* acted, whom we are about to ſee reign, not onely in *France* by right of Blood, but over all *Europe* by the eſteem of his Vertue.

In effect, ſince the firſt foundation of the *French* Monarchy, the Hiſtory furniſheth us not with any Reign more memorable, by reaſon of the great Events, more repleat with the wonders of Divine Aſſiſtance, more glorious for the Prince, and more happy for the People, then his: and it is without Flattery or Envy that all the Univerſe hath given him the ſurname of *Great*; not ſo much for the greatneſs of his Victories, however comparable to thoſe of *Alexander* or *Pompey*, as for the greatneſs of his Soul and of his Courage: for he never bow'd either under the Inſults of Fortune, or under the Traverſes of his Enemies, or under the Reſentments of Revenge, or under the Artifices of Favorites or Miniſters: he remained always in the ſame temper, always Maſter of himſelf. In a word, he remained always King and Soveraign, without acknowledging other Superiour then God, Juſtice and Reaſon.

Let us then proceed to write the Hiſtory of his Life, which we ſhall divide into three principal Parts.

The Life of *Hen.* the Great, divided into three parts.

The firſt ſhall contain what happened from his Birth till his coming to the Crown of *France.*

The firſt.

The ſecond ſhall ſpeak what he did after he came to it, until the Peace of *Vervin.*

The ſecond

And the third ſhall recount his Actions after the Peace of *Vervin*, until the unhappy day of his death.

The third.

But before all, it is neceſſary we ſpeak ſomething briefly of his Genealogie.

He was Son to *Anthony de Bourbon*, Duke of *Vendoſme* and King of *Navarre*, and of *Jane* of *Albret*, Heireſs of that Kingdome.

His Genealogie.

Anthony deſcended in a direct and Maſculine line from *Robert* Count of *Clermont*, fifth Son to King St. *Lewis.*

Who *Antho. de Bourbon* his father was.

This *Robert* eſpouſed *Beatrix*, Daughter and Heireſs to *John* of *Burgoyne*, Baron of *Bourbon*, by his Wiſe *Agnes*; for which cauſe *Robert* took the Name of *Bourbon*, but not the Arms, ſtill keeping thoſe of *France.*

This ſage Pre-caution ſerved well to his Deſcendants, to maintain themſelves in the Degree of Princes of the Blood, which thoſe of *Courtnay* (a) loſt, for not having acted in the ſame manner. And beſides the Vertue which gave a ſplendour to their Actions, the good management and œconomy which they exerciſed to conſerve and augment their Revenues, the great Alliances in which they were very diligent to match themſelves, ever refuſing to mingle their Noble among Vulgar Blood; and above all, their rare Piety towards God, and that ſingular goodneſs wherewith they acted towards their Inferiors, conſerved them, and elevated them above Princes of elder Branches: for the People ſeeing them always rich, puiſſant, wiſe, and in a word, worthy to command, had imprinted in their ſpirits as it were a prophetick perſwaſion that this Houſe would one day come to the Crown; and they on their ſide ſeemed to have conceived this hope, though it were at great diſtance, having taken for their Word or Device, *Eſpoir*, or *Hope*.

a Peter, *ſixth Son to* Lewis le groſs, *eſpouſed* Iſabella *Heireſs of* Courtnay, *and took both Name and Arms: a fault very prejudicial to his poſterity.*

Among the younger Branches which iſſued from this Branch of *Bourbon* (b), the moſt conſiderable and moſt illuſtrious was that of *Vendoſm*. It carried this Name, becauſe they poſſeſſed that great Country, which came to them in the year 1364. by the marriage of *Katharine Vendoſme*, (Siſter and Heireſs to *Bouchard* laſt Count of *Vendoſme*) with *John* of *Bourbon* Count of the *Marches*. At preſent it was but a County, but was after made a Dutchy by King *Francis* the firſt, in the year 1514. in favour of *Charles*, who was great grand-

b *The branch of* Bourbon *produced many; among others that of* Vendoſme.

grand-child to *John*, and father of *Anthony*. This *Charles* had ſeven Male-Children; *Lewis*, *Anthony*, *Francis*, another *Lewis*, *Charles*, *John*, and a third *Lewis*: the firſt *Lewis* and the ſecond died in their infancy; *Anthony* remained the eldeſt; *Francis*, who was Count of *Anguien*, and gained the Battel of *Ceriſoles*, died without being married. *Charles* was a Cardinal of the title of *Chryſogone*, and Archbiſhop of *Rouen*; this is he who was named The old Cardinal of *Bourbon*. *John* loſt his life at the Battel of St. *Quintin*. The third *Lewis* was called The Prince of *Condé*, and by two Marriages had ſeveral Male-Children; from the firſt deſcended *Henry* Prince of *Condé*, *Francis* Prince of *Conty*, and *Charles*, who was Cardinal and Archbiſhop of *Rouen* after the Death of the old Cardinal of *Bourbon*.

Charles Duke of *Vendoſme* had *Anthony*, and ſix other ſons,

There were eight Generations from Male in Male, from St. *Lewis* to *Anthony*, who was Duke of *Vendoſme*, King of *Navarre*, and father to our *Henry*.

Who *Jane d' Albret* his Mother was.

As for *Jane d' Albret* his Wife, ſhe was Daughter and Heireſs to *Henry* of *Albret*, King of *Navarre*, and of *Margaret du Valois*, Siſter to King *Francis* the firſt, and Widow to the Duke of *Alenzon*. *Henry d' Albret* was ſon to *John d' Albret*, who became King of *Navarre* by his Wife *Katherine du Foix*, Siſter to King *Phebus* deceaſed without Children; for that Realm had entred into the Houſe of *Foix* by marriage, as it entred afterwards into that of *Albret*, and ſince into that of *Bourbon*.

Ferdinand King of *Arragon*, had invaded and taken the Higher *Navarre*, that is, that part which is beyond the *Pyræneaan* Hills, and the moſt conſiderable of that Realm, from King *John d'Albret*; ſo that by conſequence there reſted to him onely the Lower, that is, that beneath the Mountains towards *France*: but with it he had the Countries of *Bearn*, of *Albrett*, of *Foix*, of *Armagnac*, of *Bigorra*, and many other great Signories coming as well by the Houſe of *Foix*, as that of *Albret*.

Henry his Son had onely one Daughter, *Jane*, who was called The Minion of Kings: for King *Henry* her Father, and the great King *Francis* the firſt her Uncle, with Envy to each other, ſtrove moſt to cheriſh her.

Anth. of *Bourbon*, Duke of *Vendoſme*, and *Jane d'Albret*, married at *Moulins* 1547.

The Emperour *Charles* the fifth had caſt his Eyes on her, and cauſed her to be demanded of her Father for his Son *Philip* the ſecond; propoſing this as a means to pacifie their Differences touching the Kingdome of *Navarre*: but King *Francis* the firſt, not thinking it fit to introduce ſo puiſſant an Enemy into *France*, cauſing her to come to *Chaſtellerault*, affianced her to the Duke of *Cleves*; and after releaſing her of that Contract, married her to *Anthony* of *Bourbon*, Duke of *Vendoſme*: and the Marriage was ſolemnized at *Moulins*, in the year 1547. the ſame year that *Francis* the firſt died.

The two young Spouſes had in their firſt three or four years, two Sons; both which died at *Bereeau* by accidents very extraordinary: the firſt, becauſe its Governeſs being her ſelf cold of nature, kept it ſo hot, that ſhe ſtifled it with heat; and the ſecond by the careleſſneſs of the Nurſe, who playing with a Gentleman, as they danced the Childe from one to another, let it fall to the ground, ſo that it died in torment. Thus Heaven deprived them of theſe two little Princes, to make way for our *Henry*; who merited well both the Birth-right, and to be an onely Son.

Let us now come to the Hiſtory of his Life.

The

The Firſt Part
OF THE
LIFE
OF
HENRY the Great:

Containing his Hiſtory from his Birth, until he came to the Crown of *FRANCE.*

1552. Henry the Great conceived at *la Fleche.*

1553.

IT hath not been preciſely known in what place *Henry* the Great was conceived. The common opinion holds that it was at *la Fleche* in *Anjou*; there where *Anthony* of *Bourbon* his father, and the Princeſs of *Navarre* his mother, ſojourned from the end of *February*, *anno* 1552, until the middle of *May*, in the year 1553. But it is certain that ſhe firſt perceived her conception, and felt it move, at the Camp in *Picardy*, where ſhe was with her husband, who was Governour of that Province, and who was gone from *la Fleche* to command an Army againſt *Charles* the fifth. It was moſt juſt, that he who was deſtined to be an extraordinary Prince, ſhould begin the firſt motions of his life in a Camp, at the noiſe of Trumpets and Cannon, as a true childe of *Mars*.

His mother ſings at her delivery of him.

He cries not at his birth.

His grandfather *Henry d'Albret*, who yet lived, having underſtood that his daughter was with childe, recalled her home to him; deſiring himſelf to take care for the conſervation of this new fruit, which, by a ſecret pre-ſentiment, he was wont to ſay ought to revenge him of thoſe injuries the Spaniards had done him.

So ſoon as born, his grandfather carries him into his chamber; he rubs his lips with Garlick, & makes him taſte wine.

This couragious Princeſs taking then leave of her husband, parted from *Compeigne* the fifteenth of *November*; traverſed all *France* to the *Pyrenæan* mountains, and arrived at *Pau* in *Bearne*, where the King her father was, the fourth day of *December*, not having ſtay'd above eighteen or nineteen days on her journey; and the thirtieth of the ſame month, ſhe was happily brought to bed of a ſon.

The Spaniards Raillery concerning the birth of his mother.

1553.

Before this, King *Henry d'Albret* had made his Will; which the Princeſs his daughter had a great deſire to ſee, becauſe it was reported that it was made to her diſadvantage, in favour of a Lady that good man had loved. She durſt not ſpeak to him of it; but he being advertiſed of her deſire, he promiſed to ſhew it her, and put it in her hands, when ſhe ſhould ſhew him what ſhe carried in her womb; but on condition, that at her delivery ſhe ſhould ſing a Song; *to the end* (ſaid he) *that thou bringſt not into the world a weak and weep-*

Hismother ſings at her delivery of him.

He cries not at his birth.

weeping infant. The Princeſs promiſed him, and had ſo much courage, that maugre the great pains ſhe ſuffered, ſhe kept her word, and ſung one in the *Bearnois* language, ſo ſoon as ſhe underſtood he was entred into the chamber. It was obſerved that the infant, contrary to the common order of Nature, came into the world without weeping or crying. Nor was it fit, that a Prince who ought to be the joy of all *France*, ſhould be born among tears and groans.

So ſoon as born, his grandfather carries him into his chamber: he rubs his lips with Garlick, & makes him taſte wine.

So ſoon as he was born, his grandfather carried him in the ſkirt of his Robe into his own chamber; giving his Will, which was in a box of gold, to his daughter; telling her, *My daughter, ſee there what is for you; but this is for me.* Whilſt he held the infant, he rubbed his little lips with a clove of Garlick, and made him ſuck a draught of Wine out of a golden cup; that he might render his temperament more maſculine and vigorous.

The Spaniards Raillery concerning the birth of his mother

The Spaniards had formerly ſaid in Raillery concerning the birth of the mother of our *Henry*; *O wonder! the Cow hath brought forth an Ewe*: meaning by that word *Cow*, Queen *Margaret* her mother, whom they called ſo; and her husband, *Cow-keeper*, alluding to the Arms of *Bearn*, which are two Cows. And King *Henry* reſting aſſured of the future greatneſs of his little grandchilde, taking him often in his arms, kiſſing him; and remembring the fooliſh Raillery of the Spaniards, ſpoke with joy to all thoſe who came to viſit him, and congratulate this happie birth: *See* (ſaid he) *how my Ewe hath now brought forth a Lion!*

Her fathers Reply to it

1554. Baptiſm of *Hen.* 4.

He was baptized the year following, on *Twelfth-day*, being the ſixth of *January*, 1554. For this Baptiſm, were expreſly made Fonts of ſilver richly gilded; in which he was baptized, in the Chappel of the Caſtle of *Pau*. His Godfathers were *Henry* the ſecond King of *France*, and *Henry d' Albret* King of *Navarre*; who gave him their Name: and the Godmother was Madam *Claudia* of *France*, after Dutcheſs of *Lorain*. *Jaques de Foix* then Biſhop of *Leſcar*, and after Cardinal, held him over the Font, in the name of the Moſt Chriſtian King; and Madam *d' Andovins* in the name of Madam *Claudia* of *France*. He was baptized by the Cardinal of *Armagnac* Biſhop of *Rhodez* and Vice-Legat of *Avignon*.

His godfathers, and godmother.

1555.

He was however difficult to be brought up, having ſeven or eight Nurſes, of which the laſt had all the honour. At his being weaned, the King gave him for Governeſs *Suſan de Bourbon* wife of *John d' Albret* Baron of *Mioſſens*, who elevated him in the Caſtle of *Courasse* in *Bearn*, ſituated amongſt the rocks and mountains.

He was hard to bring up.

He had for Governeſs Madam *de Mioſſens*.

His grandfather would not permit him to be nouriſhed with that delicateneſs ordinarily uſed to perſons of his quality; knowing well, that there ſeldom lodged other then a mean and feeble ſoul in a ſoft and tender body. He like-

His grandfather permits him not to be nouriſhed delicately.

Part I.

likewiſe denied him rich habiliments, and childrens uſual bables; "or that he ſhould "be flattered or treated like a Prince, becauſe "all thoſe things were onely the cauſes of va-"nity, and rather raiſed pride in the hearts of "infants, then any ſentiments of generoſitie: but he commanded that he ſhould be habited and nouriſhed * like the other infants of the Country, and likewiſe that they ſhould accuſtom him to run and mount up the rocks, that by ſuch means he might uſe himſelf to labour, and, if we may ſpeak ſo, give a temperature to that young body, to render it the more ſtrong and vigorous: which was without doubt moſt neceſſary for a Prince who was to ſuffer ſo much to reconquer his Eſtate.

* It hath been ſaid that he was ordinarily nouriſhed with coarſe bread, beef, cheeſe and garlick; and that often-times he was made to march with naked feet, and bare headed

The death of *Henry d'Albret.* 1555.

King *Henry d'Albret* died at *Hagetmau* in *Bearn*, on the five and twentieth of *May*, 1555, being aged about fifty three years, or thereabouts. He ordained by his Will, that his body ſhould be carried to *Pampelone*, to be interred with his predeceſſors, and that in the mean time it ſhould be laid in State in the Cathedral of *Leſcar* in *Bearn*. This Prince was couragious, of a great ſpirit, ſweet and courteous to all the world, and ſo nobly liberal, that *Charles* the fifth once paſſing thorow *Navarre*, was in ſuch manner received, that he proteſted he had never ſeen a more magnificent Prince.

His daughter & ſon-in-law ſucceed him,

After his death, *Jane* his daughter, and *Anthony* Duke of *Vendoſme* his ſon-in-law, ſucceeded him. They were at preſent at the

Court of *France*; and with much difficulty obtained their leave to retire to *Bearn*: for King *Henry* the ſecond, preſſed to it by ill Counſel, would have deprived them of this Lower *Navarre*, which yet remained to them, pretending, that all that was below the *Pyrenean Mountains*, belonged to the Realm of *France*. They knew how juſtly to oppoſe againſt him the Eſtates of the Country, and the King durſt not too much purſue this ſubject, for fear leſt deſpair ſhould force them to call the *Spaniards* to their alliance; but he ſtill remained troubleſome to them; and giving to *Anthony* the Government of *Guyenne*, which had been likewiſe held by *Henry d'Albret* his Father-in-law, he retrenched him of *Languedoc*, which he had a long time enjoyed.

Part and retire from the Court.

About two years after, they returned to the Court of *France*, whither they brought their Son, aged about four or five years; who was the moſt jolly and beſt-compoſed Lad in the world: but they ſtayed but few moneths, and returned again to *Bearn*.

1557.
1558.

A little after, King *Henry* the ſecond was ſlain with a blow of a Lance by *Montgomery*. *Francis* the ſecond, his eldeſt Son, ſucceeded him; and *Meſſieurs de Guiſe*, Uncles to *Mary Stuart* his Queen, ſeized themſelves of the Government. The Princes of the Blood could not ſuffer it; and therefore *Lewis*, Prince of *Condé*, younger Brother to *Anthony*, called that King into the Court to oppoſe

1559.
Death of King *Henry* the ſecond.
Francis 2. ſucceeds.

Part I.

Diviſions at Court.

1560.

During theſe Diviſions, the *Hugonots* contrived the Conſpiracy *d'Amboiſe* against the preſent Government; and the two Brothers, *Anthony* and *Lewis*, being accuſed for the Chiefs of it, were arreſted Priſoners in the States of *Orleance*; and proceſſes made ſo hotly againſt the ſecond, that it was believed he would have been beheaded, if the Death of King *Francis* the ſecond had not happened.

Death of *Francis* 2.

Charles 9. ſucceeds.

Queen *Katherine* declared Regent, and the King of *Navarre* Lieutenant-General of the Realm.

Charles the ninth who ſucceeded him, being under age, Queen *Katherine* his Mother cauſed her ſelf to be declared Regent of the Eſtate; and the King of *Navarre*, firſt Prince of the Blood, was declared Lieutenant-General of the Realm, to govern the Eſtate with her; ſo that by this means he was ſtay'd in *France*, whither he cauſed his Queen *Jane*, and his young Son Prince *Henry*, to come. But he enjoyed not long this new Dignity; for the Troubles dayly continuing, by reaſon of the Surprizes which the new Reformers made of the beſt Cities of the Kingdome, after having re-taken *Bourges* from them, he came to beſiege *Rouen*; where viſiting one day the Trenches, as he was making water, he received a Muſket-ſhot in his left Shoulder, of which he in few days died at *Andely* on the *Sein*. Had he lived longer, the *Hugonots* had without doubt been but ill treated in *France*; for he mortally hated them, though his Brother, the Prince of *Conde*, were the principal Chief of their party.

1562.

He is killed before *Rouen*.

1562.

Part I.

The Queen his wife returns to *Bearn*, and embraces Calviniſm

The Queen his wife, and the little Prince his ſon, were at preſent in the Court of *France*. The mother returned to *Bearn*, where ſhe publickly embraced Calviniſm; but ſhe left her ſon with the King, under the conduct of a wiſe Tutor, named *la Gaucherie*, who endeavoured to give him ſome tincture of Learning, not by the Rules of Grammar, but by Diſcourſes and Entertainments. To this effect he taught him by heart many fair Sentences like to theſe:

Ou vaincre avec Juſtice,
Ou Mourir avec Gloire.

Or juſtly gain the Victory,
Or learn with Glory how to die.

And that other:

Les Princes ſur leur Peuple ont autorité grande,
Mais Dieu plus fortement deſſus les Rois commande.

Kings rule their Subjects with a mighty hand;
But God with greater power doth Kings command.

1566. She take her ſon

In the year 1566. his mother took him from the Court of *France*, and led him to *Pau*; and in the place of *la Gaucherie*, who was deceaſed, ſhe gave him *Florentin Chriſtian*, an ancient ſervant of the houſe of *Vendoſme*, a man of a very agreeable converſation, and well verſed in Learning, but however a *Hugonot*, and who, according to the orders of the Queen, inſtructed the Prince in that falſe Doctrine.

Part I. from the [illegible] gives him a Maſter, inſtructs him in ill Doctrine.

In the firſt troubles of the Religion, *Francis* Duke of *Guiſe* had been aſſaſſinated by *Poltrot* at the Siege of *Orleance*, leaving his children in minority: this was in the year 1563. In the ſecond, the Conſtable of *Montmorency* received a wound at the battle of St. *Dennis*, of which he died at *Paris*, three days after the Eve of St. *Martin*, in the year 1567. In the third, and in the year 1569, Queen *Jane* rendred her ſelf Protectoreſs of the *Hugonot* party; being for this effect come to *Rochel* with her ſon, whom ſhe now devoted to the Defence of that new Religion.

1567. *Henry* Prince of *Navarre*, declared chief of the Religion.

In this quality he was declared Chief, and his Uncle the Prince of *Condé* his Lieutenant in colleague with the Admiral of *Coligny*. Theſe were two great Chieftains, but they committed notable errours; and this young Prince, though not exceeding thirteen years of age, had the ſpirit to obſerve them. For he judged well at the great skirmiſh of *Loudun*, that if the Duke of *Anjou* (b) had had troops ready to aſſault them, he had done it; and that not doing it, he was without doubt in an ill eſtate, and therefore ſhould the rather have been aſſaulted by them; but they, by not doing

1569. *Louys* Prince of *Condé* his Uncle, his Lieutenant with Admiral *Coligny*. A judicious action, when yet an infant.

b *This Duke* of Anjou, *was King after* Hen. 3.

doing it, gave time to all his troops to arrive.

At the battle of *Jarnac*, he repreſented to them yet more judiciouſly, that there was no means to fight, becauſe the forces of the Princes were diſperſed, and thoſe of the Duke of *Anjou* firmly imbodied: but they were engaged too far to be able to retreat. The Prince of *Condé* was killed in this battle, or rather aſſaſſinated in cold blood after the Combat, in which he had had his Leg broken.

Another action very judicious at the Battle of *Jarnac*.

Lewis Prince of *Condé* ſlain.

After that, all the authority and belief of the Party remained in the Admiral *Coligny*; who, to ſpeak truth, was the greateſt man of that time of the Religion he took part with, but the moſt unfortunate.

After his death, the Admiral commands all.

This Admiral having gathered together new forces, hazarded a ſecond battle at *Montcontour* in *Poictou*: he had cauſed to come to the Army our little Prince of *Navarre*, and the young Prince of *Condé*, who was likewiſe named *Henry*; and gave them in charge to Prince *Lodowick* of *Naſſaw*, who guarded them on a Hill little diſtant with four thouſand horſe.

He hazards the battle of *Montcontour*.

The young Prince burned with deſire to engage in perſon, but they permitted him not to run ſo great a hazard: nevertheleſs when the Avant-Guard of the Duke of *Alenzon* was diſordered by that of the Admiral, there had been no danger to let him fall upon the Enemies, who were much aſtoniſhed. However they hindred him, and he now cryed out,

Our Prince impatient to engage, but hindred.

We

Part I. *We ſhall looſe our advantage, and by conſequence the battle.* It arrived as he had foreſeen; and it was at that hour judged by ſome, that a young man of ſixteen years of age, had more understanding then the old Souldiers. “Thus “he applyed himſelf entirely to what he did; “nor had he onely a Body, but a Spirit and “Judgement apt.

Gives marks of his judgement.

1570.

Being ſaved with the remnants of his Army, he made almoſt a turn round the Kingdome, fighting in retreat, and rallying together the *Hugonots* troops here and there for five or ſix moneths; during which, he ſuffered ſo much travel, that had he not been elevated in that manner he was, he could not have been able to reſiſt it.

This young Prince always accompanied with the Admiral, led his troops into *Guyenne*, and from thence through *Languedoc*, where he took *Niſmes* by ſtratagem, forced ſeveral ſmall places, and burned the ſuburbs of *Touleuſe* in ſuch manner, that the ſparkles of that fire flew into that great City. The War being thus kindled in the heart of *France*, he ſhewed himſelf on the other bank of the *Rhone* with his troops, gained by ſtorms the City of St. *Julien* and St. *Juſt*, and obliged St. *Eſtienne en Forez* to capitulate. From thence he deſcended to the banks of the *Saone*, and afterwards into the middle of *Burgongne*. *Paris* trembled the ſecond time at the approach of an Army ſo much the more formidable, becauſe it ſeemed to be re-inforced by the loſs of

He with the Admiral continues the War.

two battles, and to have now gained some advantage over that of the Catholicks which the Marshal *de Cosse* commanded.

Gives marks of his judgement.

1570.

The Council of the King fearing to hazard all by a fourth Encounter, judged it more to the purpose to plaister up a peace with that party: it was therefore treated of, the two Armies being near each other, and concluded in the little City of *Arnay-le-Duc*, on the eleventh of *August*.

The peace of *Arnay-le-Duc*.

This Peace made every one retire home; the Prince of *Navarre* went to *Bearn*. King *Charles* the ninth married with *Elizabeth*, Daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian* the second; and nothing else seemed thought of, but Feasts and Rejoycings. In the mean time, the King having found that he could never compaſs his Deſires on the *Hugonots* by force, reſolved to make uſe of means more eaſie, but much more wicked; he began to careſs them, to feign that he would treat them favourably, to accord them the greateſt part of thoſe things they deſired, and to lull them aſleep with hopes of his making War againſt the King of *Spain* in the Low-Countries; a thing they paſſionately deſired: and the better to allure them, he promiſed as a gage of his faith, to marry his Siſter *Margaret* to our *Henry*, and by theſe means drew the principal Chiefs of their party to *Paris*.

1571. A Reſolution to entrap the *Hugonots*, and exterminate them.

His mother *Jane*, who was come before to make preparations for the marriage, died a few days after her arrival: a Princeſs of a Spi-

Death of *Jane d' Albret*.

wit and Courage above her Sex; and whose Soul wholly virile, was not subject to the weakneſſes and defaults of other women; but in truth, a paſſionate Enemy of the Catholick Religion. Some Hiſtorians ſay that ſhe was poiſoned with a pair of perfumed Gloves, becauſe they feared that ſhe having a great ſpirit, would diſcover the deſigne they had to maſſacre all the *Hugonots*; but if I be not deceived, this is a falſity; it being more likely which others ſay, that ſhe died of a Tiſſick; ſince thoſe that were about her, and ſerved her, have ſo teſtified.

Her ſon takes the quality of King of *Navarre*.

Henry her Son, who came after her, being in *Poictou*, received news of her death, and preſently took the Quality of King: for hitherto he had onely born that of Prince of *Navarre*. So ſoon as he came to *Paris*, the unhappy Nuptials were celebrated; the two parties being eſpouſed by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, on a ſcaffold erected for that purpoſe before the Church of *Noſtre-Dame*.

He marries the King of *France* his ſiſter.

Maſſacre of St. *Bartholomew*.

Six days after, which was the day of St. *Bartholomew*, all the *Hugonots* which were come to the ſolemnity, had their throats cut; amongſt others, the Admiral, and twenty other Lords of remark; twelve hundred Gentlemen; three or four thouſand Souldiers and Burgeſſes; and through all the Cities of the Kingdome, after the example of *Paris*, near an hundred thouſand men. "Execrable "action! which never had, nor ever ſhall again, if it pleaſe God, finde its parallel.

What grief muſt it needs be to our young King, to ſee in ſtead of Wine and Perfumes, ſo much Blood ſhed at his Nuptials, his beſt friends murthered; and hear their pitiful cries, which pierced his ears into the *Louvre* where he was lodged? And moreover, what ſuſpicions and fears muſt needs ſurprize his very Perſon? for, in effect, it was conſulted whether they ſhould murther him and the Prince of *Condé* with the reſt; and all the murderers concluded on their death; nevertheleſs, by a miracle, they after reſolved to ſpare them.

Part I.

The grief and fear of our young King.

Charles the ninth cauſed them to be brought into his preſence; and having ſhewed them a mountain of dead bodies, with horrible threats, not hearkning to their reaſons, told them, *Either Death or the Maſs.* They elected rather the laſt then the firſt, and abjured Calviniſm; but becauſe it was known they did it not heartily, they were ſo ſtraitly obſerved, that they could not eſcape the Court during thoſe two years that *Charles* the ninth lived, nor a long time after his death.

He is conſtrained to turn Catholick.

During this time, our *Henry* exquiſitely diſſembled his diſcontents, though they were very great; and notwithſtanding thoſe vexations which might trouble his ſpirit, he cloathed his viſage with a perpetual ſerenity, and humour wholly jolly. This was without doubt the moſt difficult paſſage of his Life; he had to do with a furious King, and with his two Brothers, to wit, the Duke of *Anjou*, a diſſembling Prince, and who had been educated

1572.

His great dangers & troubles at Court.

Part I. cated in maſſacres; and with the Duke of A-*lenzon*, who was deceitful and malicious; with Queen *Katherine*, who mortally hated him, becauſe her Divines had foretold his reign; and in fine, with the houſe of *Guiſe*, whoſe puiſſance and credit was at preſent almoſt boundleſs.

His wiſe & prudent conduct. He was doubtleſs neceſſitated to act with a marvellous prudence in the conduct of himſelf with all theſe people, that he might not create in them the leaſt jealouſie; but rather beget a great eſteem of himſelf; make ſubmiſſion and gravity accord, and conſerve his Dignity and Life: in the mean time he diſ-engaged himſelf from all theſe difficulties, and from all theſe dangers, with an unparallell'd addreſs.

He contracts friendſhip with the Duke of *Guiſe*. He contracted a great familiarity with the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was about his own age; and they often made ſecret parties of pleaſure together: but he agreed not ſo well with the Duke of *Alenzon*, who had a capricious ſpirit; nor was he over-much troubled at his diſcord with him, becauſe neither the King nor Queen-mother had any affection for this Duke. However, he gave no credit to the ill

He ſhuns contention with Duke d' *Alenzon*; counſel of that Queens Emiſſaries, who endeavoured to engage his contending in Duel againſt him; ſo much the rather, becauſe that he conſidering him as the brother of his King, to whom he ought reſpect; he knew well it would have proved his loſs, and that ſhe would not have been wanting to take ſo fair a pretext to ruine him.

He ſhunned likewiſe other ſnares laid for him, but yet not all; for he ſuffered himſelf to be overtaken with the allurements of ſome Ladies of the Court; whom it is ſaid that Queen ſerved her ſelf expreſly of, to amuſe the Princes and Nobles, and to diſcover all their thoughts.

But lets himſelf be overcome by the beauty of Ladies ;

From that time, ("for Vices contracted in "the bloſſome of youth, generally accompa- "ny men to their tomb) a paſſion for women was the greateſt feebleneſs and weakneſs of our *Henry*; and poſſibly the cauſe of his laſt miſfortune: for God puniſheth ſooner or later thoſe who wickedly abandon themſelves to this criminal paſſion.

which was his greateſt weakneſs.

Beſides this, he contracted no other crimes in this Court; and it ought to be attributed to a particular grace of Heaven, that he was not infected with all; for there was never any more vicious nor more corrupted. Impiety, Atheiſm, Witchcraft, all moſt horrible wickedneſs, black ingratitude and perfidiouſneſs, poiſoning and aſſaſſination, reigning there in a ſoveraign degree; yet all theſe abominations, inſtead of infecting him, fortified him in the natural horror he had againſt them; and, though amongſt wicked perſons, he had never any thoughts to become their Companion, but many to be their Enemy.

1572. He fell not into any other of the horrible Vices of the Court,

On St. *Bartholomews*-day ſucceeding, they would finiſh to exterminate the *Hugonots*; and to this purpoſe the Duke of *Anjou* went to beſiege *Rochel*, carrying him with him; but

1573. The Duke of *Anjou* beſieges *Rochel*, and caused him to be ſo well obſerved, that he could neither evade to the right hand nor the left. It may be judged what heart-grief it was to him to be made an inſtrument in the deſtruction of thoſe which yet remained his friends and ſervants, and had refuged themſelves in this City. After a long ſiege it was relieved by the arrival of the Ambaſſadors of *Poland*, who came to ſeek the Duke of *Anjou*, whom the Eſtates of that Country had elected their King.

carries the King with him.

The ſiege raiſed, by the election of Duke *d'Anjou* to the Kingdome of *Poland*.

1574.

Charles 9. falls mortally ſick at *Bois de Vincennes*.

Some moneths afterwards, *Charles* the ninth fell mortally ſick, vomiting forth blood through all the conduits of his body; ſo that by many it was believed he was empoiſoned: but however it were, it may juſtly be ſaid, (if it be permitted to judge of Kings, *who ought to be judged by none but God.*) That it was a Divine puniſhment for his blaſphemies.

A league made in Court, into which *Henry* enters.

His extream malady gave birth to a league made by the Duke of *Alenſon*, the Marſhals of *Montmorency* and *Coſſe*, and ſome Catholicks, with the *Hugonot* party, to deprive the Queen-mother of the Government, and drive the *Guiſes* from the Court, where they were very puiſſant. Our *Henry* entred into it, not out of any deſigne to oblige himſelf with thoſe people, but onely that he might have the means to retire with ſecurity into his own Country.

The Queen-mother diſcovering it, cauſes him & the Duke *Alenſon*, &c to be arreſted;

The Queen-mother having underſtood theſe practices, cauſed him and the Duke of *Alenſon* to be arreſted and committed to Guard. The Prince of *Condé* ſaved himſelf happily in *Germany*.

She cauſed likewiſe the two Marſhals of *Montmorency* and *Coſſe* to be ſecured; and to let the world ſee ſhe treated not Princes of their degree in this manner without ſufficient cauſe, ſhe made them be ſtrictly examined on many treaſonable interrogatories; but which were all falſe: there were onely put to death *la Mole*, *Coconas*, and *Tourtray*; three Gentlemen of note, who had engaged themſelves in their intrigues; and poſſibly this execution was neceſſary to calm the ſpirit of the Nobility and People, who began to murmur, that a ſon of *France*, and the firſt Prince of the blood, ſhould be treated in this manner.

and la *Mole*, *Coconas*, & *Tourtray*, to be put to death.

In this affair, the Chancellour would have examined the King of *Navarre*; but though captive and threatned, he would not ſo much wrong his Dignity as to reply to him. However, to content the Queen-mother, he made a long diſcourſe, addreſſing his ſpeech to her; by which he declared many things touching the preſent eſtate of affairs, but charged no perſon, as the Duke of *Alenſon* had weakly and unworthily done.

The Chancellour would examine the King of Navarre on the exigencies.

King *Charles* the ninth being near his death, and hating poſſibly not without reaſon both his two brothers, and his mother, ſent to ſeek our *Henry*, in whom alone he acknowledged to have found faith and honour; and moſt affectionately recommended to him his wife and his daughter.

Charles 9. near his death, ſends for him.

Katherine

Part I.
1574.

Queen *Katherine* alarm'd, would affright him.

Katherine de Medicis, knowing that he had ſent for him, was fearful leſt he ſhould leave to him the Regency; and to this purpoſe would caſt ſome fear into his ſoul, to the end he ſhould not dare to accept it. As he went to attend the King, who was at *Bois de Vincennes*, ſhe gave order he ſhould be made paſs under the Arches, between the Guards, who lay in ambuſh and poſture to maſſacre him. He ſtartled at firſt with fear, and recoiled two or three paces backwards: however, *Nanzay la Chaſtre*, Captain of the Life-guards, reaſſured him, ſwearing to him he ſhould receive no prejudice; he was therefore conſtrained, though he truſted but little to his words, to paſs through the Carabines and Halberds.

After the death of *Charles* she ſeizeth on the Regency.

After the death of *Charles* the ninth, *Katherine de Medicis*, partly by force, and partly by cunning, ſeized on the Regency, expecting the return of her dear Son the Duke of *Anjou*, who was named *Henry* the third.

The two Princes ſet at liberty.

When he was returned from *Poland*, ſhe brought the two Princes before him, to do with them what he pleaſed; whom after ſome chidings and threatnings, he ſet at liberty.

The Prince of *Condé* was in *Germany*.

Theſe two Princes making reflection on the continual dangers they had for two years paſt been in, reſolved with the firſt occaſion to deliver themſelves from theſe fears. The Prince of *Condé*, who was in *Germany*, had raiſed Levies for the *Huguenot* party; who, about the end of the reign of *Charles* the ninth, had retaken Arms; and *Damville*, second son to the *Old* Constable, and brother of the Marshal of *Montmorency*, who was a prisoner in the *Bastile*, had joyned himſelf to their party; not taking Religion for his pretext, (becauſe he was a Catholick) but the publick Liberty, and Reformation of the State. This ſort of Catholicks who joyned themſelves in league with the *Hugonots*, were named *The Politicians*.

The King of *Navarre* cannot eſcape as he deſires.

Our *Henry* could not eſcape from the Court ſo ſoon as he deſired: he was diligently watched, and his very Domeſticks were as ſo many ſpies over him. He well underſtood, that if he were ſurprized whilſt he endeavoured to ſave himſelf, he ſhould certainly be murthered; and now whilſt he ſought occaſions to do it with ſecurity, he engaged himſelf in new ſnares, becoming paſſionate of *La Dame de Sauves*, wife to a Secretary of State, and at preſent the faireſt in the whole Court.

He falls in love with a Lady.

In the mean time the Queen-mother, who with ſo much diligence kept him at Court, could have been well contented he had been gone. For the King her dear Son, began to take ſome knowledge of his own affairs; a thing much diſpleaſing to her, becauſe ſhe would have governed all: ſhe therefore apprehending, that as he took the Authority into his own hands, hers would be diminiſhed; believed, that ſhe ought to embroile all by factions and civil wars; of which ſhe alone, as it may be ſaid, had the Key, ſo that nothing

The Queen-mother alluminates all the factions and civil wars.

Part I. could paſs without her. [illegible] the Perſon wherefore to [illegible] in the [illegible] had nothing [illegible] make different parties both in Court and abroad; that in the end, [illegible] the deſolation of the [illegible] on of all Laws and all Orders, [illegible] ſelf periſh in thoſe flames which ſhe had kindled, and ſupplyed with ſo much fuel.

1575. Conſpiracy againſt *Henry* 3. who confides in our *Henry*.

Amongſt theſe tranſactions, as the King went to *Rheims* to be inſtalled, a conſpiracy was diſcovered againſt his Perſon, foſtred by the Duke of *Alenſon*, at the inſtigation of the friends of the defunct Admiral, and of *de la Mole*, who had been his favourite: many believed this to be a thing deviſed by the Queen-mother, of purpoſe to aſtoniſh and weaken the ſpirit of her Son: and the reaſon they had to believe it was, becauſe ſhe obliged the King to pardon this crime ſo lightly; none either of the Complices or inſtigators being puniſhed for it. However it were, *Henry* the third teſtified in this occaſion a particular confidence in our King of *Navarre*, who, aſſiſted by his friends, ſerved him as Captain of his Guards through the whole way, never ſtirring from the boot of his Coach: and in this appeared ſo much the more generous, having no reaſon to love him, beſide the obligation of his duty, being his Kinſman and his Vaſſal.

Henry 3. anointed and eſpou-

Henry the third being arrived at *Rheims*, was on the fifteenth of the month of *February*, inſtalled by the Cardinal of *Guiſe*; and on the morrow eſpouſed to *Louiſe de Lorrain*, daughter of the Count of *Vaudemont*: which added yet a great luſtre to the houſe of *Guiſe*, of which Duke *Henry* was chief, who was at preſent in favour, though after killed at *Blois*. This Prince, one of the braveſt in all manners that Age produced, had ever promiſed himſelf to govern the King by Queen *Louiſe* his kinſwoman. He had contracted a very ſtrait familiarity with the King of *Navarre*, whom he called his Maſter; as that King called him his Goſſip.

Part I.

ſed to *Louis de Lorrain*,

Familiarity between our *Henry* and the Duke of *Guiſe*.

Queen *Margaret*, who, to ſpeak the truth, could not live without Intrigues nor Galanteries, contributed with all her power to the entertainment of this good intelligence, and eſſayed to make the *Monſieur* (who is he we call Duke *d'Alenſon*) enter into it, whom ſhe moſt paſſionately loved.

But the union of Princes being the ruine of Favorites and thoſe that governed, the Queen-mother ſtraight broke this deſigne; begetting in the King a jealouſie of his wife; incenſing *Monſieur* againſt the Duke of *Guiſe*, by the remembrance of the maſſacre of the Admiral; continually confounding the King of *Navarre* by the intrigue of ſome Ladies, but particularly of *de Sauves*, who enjoying ſuch perſon as *Katherine* commanded her, received the love and ſervices of *Monſieur* to create a difference between them.

The Queen-mother breaks this union.

The Queen-mother entertained likewiſe an irreconcileable hatred between the King and his

Monſieur: by which means there arrived an affair which as much proclaimed the greatneſs of Courage and Generoſity of our *Henry*, as any action he had done in his life.

Henry 3. falls very ſick.

a Francis 2 died of an Apoſthume in his ear, which was believed to come of poyſon.

The King being fallen ſick, and in great danger of death with a pain in his ear, believeth himſelf to be poiſoned, as (a) *Francis* the ſecond had been, and accuſed *Monſieur*. In this belief he ſent to ſeek the King of *Navarre*, and commands him to diſpatch *Monſieur* ſo ſoon as he was dead; enforcing himſelf by all reaſons poſſible, to perſwade him that that wicked one would make him periſh, and all his, if he prevented it not. The favorites of the King having the ſame opinion with their Maſter, ſeeing *Monſieur* paſs, ſacrificed him already to their revenge, by murthering regards.

A noble and generous action of our *Henry*.

Our *Henry* endeavoured to ſweeten the fury of the King, and remonſtrated to him the horrible conſequences of this command; but the King, not content with reaſons, contrary to them, emported himſelf in ſuch manner, that he would he ſhould preſently execute it, for fear leſt he ſhould fail of it when he were dead.

1575.

If the two brothers, to wit, the King and *Monſieur*, had been out of the world, the Crown appertained to him. Now one in all appearances was about to die; and he might eaſily finde a death for the other, having the Favorites, the Officers of the King, the *Guiſes*, all their friends, and almoſt all the Nobility at his devotion; for *Monſieur* was a Prince of an

ill preſence, and of low inclinations, yet maliſh and cruel; and for all theſe fair qualities, hated by almoſt all the world, and eſteemed onely by the brave *Buſſy d' Amboiſe*. How few Princes are there that would have let ſlip ſo fair an occaſion! I dare boldly ſpeak it, how few are there would not ſeek it? and yet our *Hero* (for in ſuch an action I muſt of force call him ſo) was ſo far from prevailing himſelf of it, that he conceived a horrour at the furious vengeance of *Henry* the third. "*There is no*
"*nobler ambition, then to know how to moderate*
"*ambition when it is not juſt; and to endeavour*
"*to conſerve our conſcience and honour, rather*
"*then acquiſt a crown by wicked ways. Diadems gained by ill means, are not marks of glo-*
"*ry to thoſe fronts that carry them, but rather*
"*frontlets of infamy, ſuch as are placed on*
"*Thieves and Villains.*

Heaven, without doubt, approved the generous ſentiments of our *Henry*, and deſtined to him the Scepter of the *Flower de Luce*, became guiltleſs of an impatience to reach it before his degree. On the contrary, theſe brothers of the houſe of *Valois*, who endeavoured to raviſh it one from the other, died all unhappily, and had him for their ſucceſſour, who by a crime refuſed to be ſo.

Henry the third being recovered, knew well that he had wrongfully accuſed his brother to have impoiſoned him; yet he loved him never a whit the more. He dayly ſuffered his favorites to give him a thouſand affronts, and to domineer over him in the publick Aſſemblies. He would likewiſe cauſe *Buſſy d' Amboiſe*, who was his favorite and onely ſupport, to be murthered by night at the gates of the *Louvre*; and it was believed he had given orders, if the Duke of *Alenzon* had gone to his aſſiſtance, (for there were people appointed to come and tell him that *Buſſy* was aſſaſſinated) to ſlay him likewiſe. In ſuch manner, that getting the bridle out of his teeth, he eſcaped from Court, put himſelf in the field, gathered together ſome male-contents, compoſed an Army, and joyned with that of the *Hugonots*, commanded by the Prince of *Condé*, and by *Caſimir*, youngeſt ſon of the Count *Palatine*; who, in theſe civil wars of the Religion, twice or thrice led great levies of *German Horſe* into *France*.

1576.

Monſieur departs from Court and joyns with the *Hugonots.*

Our *Henry* was puiſſantly ſollicited to follow him; and *Monſieur* ſaid he had promiſed him to do it: but they had taken from about him all thoſe who might favour his eſcape, and placed in their ſtead people of their own hire. He was moreover promiſed the Lieutenant-Generalſhip of the Kings Army; which was a ſtrong lure to retain him; nor was the love of the fair *de Sauves* leſs powerful. However, the natural ſpurs of his courage, and the fear he had leſt *Monſieur* and the Prince of *Condé* ſhould ſeize on the chief Command amongſt the *Hugonot* party, which had been his Cradle, and was to be his Caſtle; the remonſtrances of ſome of his ſervants, and the in-

Our *Henry* could not ſoon follow him, but at length ſaves himſelf at *Alenzon*.

ventions of Queen *Katherine*, who expreſly incenſed the King againſt him, in the end obliged him to eſcape, and made him take his reſolution.

Peace made with *Monſieur* and the *Hugonots*.

He ſaved himſelf therefore by feigning to go on the Chace towards *Senlis*, and retired to *Alenſon*; where however he acted nothing, the peace being ſoon after concluded with them all. There was granted to *Monſieur* a great Portion in money and places; to the *Hugonots* many very advantagious conditions; to the Prince of *Conde* the Government of *Picardy*, and the City of *Peronne*, for his retreat; but to our *Henry* nothing elſe but hopes; of which being in the end dis-abuſed, he renounced the peace, re-entred into the *Hugonot* party; and quitting the Catholick Church, returned anew to his firſt Religion. It is to be believed, that he did it becauſe he was perſwaded it was the better: thus his fault will be worthy of excuſe, nor can he be accuſed but for not having the true light. In the mean time it muſt not be forgot to obſerve on this, that the greateſt reproach his enemies ever made him, I mean thoſe of the League, was his having thus relapſed; and this was likewiſe the greateſt obſtacle he found at *Rome*, when being converted, he demanded the abſolution of the Pope.

1576. Our *Henry* again turns *Hugonot*.

He is received into *Rochel*, and after goes into *Guyenne*.

The *Rochellers* received him into their City, but not without great Pre-cautions, and not until he had driven from him ſome people, who were neither *Catholicks* nor *Hugonots*,

Part I.

but Atheiſts, and horrible wicked perſons. It hath been held, that they followed him againſt his will; that truely he had ſerved himſelf of them in ſome intrigues, but that it was himſelf who by ſecret advice obliged the Rochellers to demand their expulſion.

The gates of Bourdeaux ſhut againſt him.

After he had ſojourned ſome months at Rochel, he went to take poſſeſſion of his Government of *Guyenne*, where he had the diſpleaſure to ſee ſhut againſt him the gates of the City of *Bourdeaux*, under pretext that the inhabitants feared that if he became Maſter of it, he would baniſh the Catholick Religion. A very ſenſible injury to a young Prince full of courage; but he knew moſt wiſely how to diſſemble it at preſent, becauſe he had not power to revenge it; and generouſly forgot it, when he had the means to do it.

The birth of the League.

About this time the League took birth, that puiſſant faction, which for twenty years together tormented *France*; which thought to introduce the *Spaniſh* Domination, and which would have renverſed the order of the ſucceſſion of the Royal family, under the faireſt pretext in the world, to wit, the maintenance of the Religion of our Anceſtors.

At other times, under the reign of *Charles* the ninth, there were divers Leagues and Aſſociations made in *Guyenne* and *Languedoc* to defend the Church againſt the *Hugonots*, (I leave it to judge whether thoſe who called themſelves Chief of them, had moſt Zeal, or moſt Ambition) but they were not preſſed ſo forward, nor ſo diligently formed, and therefore became extinct. The Grandees of the Realm however might by them obſerve, that if at any time ſuch aſſociations were made, it would be a fair means to elevate to a great height him who could render himſelf their Chief.

Part I.

These Leagues a fair path for the ambitious to riſe by.

Henry Duke of *Guiſe*, who had a King-like heart, had in all likelyhood this thought; or if he at firſt had it not, the favorites of *Henry* the third, by perſecuting him, forced him to entertain it, and to apply himſelf to this party, to defend himſelf againſt them. There were of his houſe ſeven or eight Princes, all brave to the utmoſt extent. The principal of them were the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the Cardinal *de Guiſe* his brothers, the Duke *d' Aumarle*, and the Marquiſs *d' Elbeuf* his Couſins.

The Duke of *Guiſe* makes himſelf chief of the League.

Now the Evaſion of *Monſieur*, of which we have ſpoken, to the *Hugonots*, and the advantagious peace after granted them, made the League ſhow it ſelf, which was but little in its commencement. Thoſe who to render themſelves puiſſant deſired a new faction in the State, took this ſubject, to make it be repreſented by their Emiſſaries the great danger in which the *Catholick* Religion was, and to remonſtrate the exceſſive puiſſance of its enemies, who had on their ſide the two firſt Princes of the blood, and *Monſieur* who was their friend. What would it be, ſaid they, if he ſhould come to the Crown with ſuch ill intentions? that therefore they ought to adviſe in

The War of *Monſieur*, & his joyning with the *Hugonots*, the cauſe of the League.

in good time, and fortifie themſelves againſt that danger which threatned the holy Church. They whiſpered at preſent theſe Conſiderations, and other like them, into mens ears; and when they had diſpoſed their ſpirits, publiſhed them aloud.

The Cities of *Picardy* begin it, and why.

Upon this, the Burgeſſes of *Perone*, a free City, and which was accuſtomed to have ſo puiſſant a Governour, refuſed to receive the Prince of *Condé*, becauſe a *Hugonot*. He made his complaints to the King, and demanded the execution of the treaty of peace. The *Picards* oppoſed him, and were the firſt that made a League or Union for the defence, as they ſaid, of the *Catholick, Apoſtolick*, and *Roman* Faith. The Prince of *Condé* could never have reaſon, and was conſtrained to retire into *Guyenne*.

James, Lord *d'Humieres*, was made Chief of this League in *Picardy*; and *Aplincourt* a young Gentleman took the Oath of the Inhabitants of *Perone*; by whoſe example the Cities of *Amiens*, *Corbie*, St. *Quintins*, and many others, did the like. *Louis de Tromville* began one likewiſe in *Poictou*. The Queen-mother ſecretly favoured this deſigne, to the end ſhe might retain her authority among theſe diſcords and diſturbances. The firſt Model, and the Articles of this League, were brought to *Paris*; and there were ſome ſo zealous as to carry them from houſe to houſe, endeavouring to engage the moſt backward: but *Christopher de Thou*, chief preſi-

Chriſtopher de Thou hinders its proceeding at *Paris*.

dent

things, hindred for the preſent the progreſs of this conſpiracy.

Thoſe who were the firſt inventors of it, had deliberated among themſelves, that to the end to give it means to aggrandize it ſelf, and to keep the ſpirits of the people ſtill warm, it was neceſſary to continue the war with the *Hugonots*: for this purpoſe, they ſtirred up divers perſons who ſurprized their places, and committed a thouſand affronts againſt our *Henry* and the Prince of *Condé*. And much more, they raiſed ſo many factions and complaints on all ſides, of people who demanded the ſummoning of the Eſtates, that the King was obliged to agree to it. They aſſembled then at *Blois*, and began in the month of *December*, in the year 1575. The *Hugonots* themſelves were not at all troubled at this Convocation, because they imagined that the third Eſtate, which ordinarily is the ſtrongeſt, and which hath moſt reaſon to apprehend the war, would cauſe the peace to be confirmed: but the *Faction* of thoſe which were for war, was ſo ſtrong, that it was reſolved puiſſantly to proſecute it.

The Leaguers oblige the King to call the Eſtates.

They aſſemble at *Blois*.

War reſolved againſt the *Hugonots*.

They judged it notwithſtanding convenient to depute before-hand ſome perſons of the Aſſembly to our *Henry* and to the Prince of *Condé*, to exhort them to return into the boſome of the Catholick Church. And this taking no effect, the King was obliged to declare himſelf Chief of the League, and ſo from Soveraign become Chief of a faction, and enemy to a part of his ſubjects.

***Henry* 3. declares himſelf chief of the League.**

He

Part I.

1577.

He raiſes three or four Armies againſt the *Hugonots*.

He raiſed three or four Armies, who made war againſt the *Hugonots* in the *Daulphinate*, in *Guyenne*, in *Languedoc*, and in *Poictou*, and reduced, and might have quite cruſht them, if their ruine had been reſolutely proſecuted in that aſtoniſhment wherein he had put them. But the Queen-mother, who onely deſired the war that ſhe might have affairs in agitation, and not that they might have their iſſue, perſwaded the King her ſon, for certain ſtudied reaſons, to grant them peace.

The Queen-mother obliges him to grant them peace.

1578.

She makes a voyage to *Guyenne*, and carries with her her daughter *Margaret*.

The Treaty being concluded, the Queen-mother made a voyage into *Guyenne*; ſhe feigned that it was to cauſe it to be punctually executed, and to carry her Daughter *Margaret* to the King of *Navarre* her husband; but it was in effect to ſow ſeeds of Diſcord among the *Hugonots*, to the end ſhe might be Miſtreſs of that party as ſhe had been in that of the *Catholicks*. *Henry* now kept his little Court at *Nerac*: he had before kept it at *Agen*, where he was beloved of the people by reaſon of his juſtice and goodneſs: But it happened, that at a Ball or Dance ſome young people of his own train blew out the Candles, to commit inſolencies; which ſo ſcandalized the inhabitants, that they delivered their City to the Marſhal of *Byron*, whom the King had ſent Governour into the Province of *Guyenne*.

The King of *Navarre* looſes *Agen* and *la Reole* by two follies of youth.

A little time after, *Henry* likewiſe loſt *la Reole* by another folly of his young people. He had given the Government of it to an old *Hugonot* Captain named *d'Uſſac*, who had his viſage

Part I.

1577.

He raiſes three or four Armies againſt the Hugonots.

The Queen-mother obliges him to grant them peace.

1578.

She makes a voyage to Guienne and carries with her daughter Margaret.

Queen Margaret did not over-well love her husband.

The King of Navarre looſes Agen and la Reole by two follies of

ſage horribly deformed: his deformity how-ever hindred him not from becoming paſſionate of one of the Ladies attending the Queen-mother; for ſhe had brought many of the moſt bewitching with her, to kindle a fire every where. The Viſcount of *Turenne*, afterwards Duke of *Bouillon*, aged at preſent about twenty one or twenty two years, with ſome others of his age, would make Raillery of this buſineſs: our *Henry*, in ſtead of commanding them ſilence, made himſelf of their party; and having a fluent ſpirit, aſſiſted them in lancing out ſome mocks & jeers againſt this doting Lover. There is no paſſion renders a heart ſo ſenſible as this. *Uſſac* could not ſuffer this Raillery, though proceeding from his Maſter; but in prejudice of his Honour and Religion, he yeilded and delivered up *la Reole* to *Duras*; a Lord who having been in favour with our *Henry*, had quitted him, out of envy, becauſe he teſtified leſs affection to him then to *Roquelaure*, who was without doubt one of the moſt honeſt and moſt pleaſant men of his time.

These two loſſes of *Agen* and *la Reole*, gave him, and ought to give all Princes, two very neceſſary inſtructions.

Two exquiſite Reflections.

"The firſt, that a Prince ought well to go-"vern his Courtiers; the rather, because all "their diſorders are imputed to him: and "that it is preſumed when they do them, that "it is himſelf commits them; becauſe obli-"ged to hinder them.

"The

Part I.

"Thirdly, that above all things he abſtain from Raillery: for there is no vice "which makes ſo many enemies, nor which is "more dangerous, becauſe others may be "concealed. Such a word as, falling from the "mouth of a particular perſon, would be ac"counted but a light jeſt, is like a ſtab of a "ponyard from that of a Prince, and leaves "in the heart mortal reſentments. Nor muſt "great ones be flattered with this opini"on, that their ſubjects or their inferiours "ought to ſuffer all things from them; for "where honour is concerned, the more the "perſon that wounds is ſuperiour, the greater "is the wound; as the impreſſion of a body is "deeper, the more feet it hath, and the higher "it falls."

Queen *Margaret* did not over-well love her husband, nor he her:

The Queen-mother had taken with her, as we have ſaid, Queen *Margaret* to her husband. Neither the one nor the other of the two Spouſes were over-well content. *Margaret*, who loved the ſplendour of the *French* Court, where ſhe ſwam, if we may ſo ſpeak, in full intrigues, believed to be in *Gaſcogne* was a kind of baniſhment: and *Henry*, knowing her humour and carriage, would rather have choſe her room then her company. However, ſeeing it a remedileſs ill, he reſolved to ſuffer it, leaving her an intire liberty: he conſidered her rather as a Siſter of his King, then as his Wife. He likewiſe pretended ſome nullities in the Marriage; but attended time and place to

make

but he draws advantages from her intrigues.

make them known. In the mean time, accommodating himſelf to the ſeaſon, and to the neceſſity of his affairs, he endeavoured to draw advantages from her intrigues, and from her credit. He received no ſmall one in the conference which he and the Deputies of the *Hugonots* had at *Nerac* with the Queen-mother: for whilſt ſhe thought to inchant them by the charms of thoſe fair Ladies ſhe had expreſly brought with her, and by the eloquence of *Pibrac*; *Margaret* oppoſed the ſame Artifices, gained the Gentlemen who were near her Mother, by the attractions of her Ladies; and employed ſo well her own, that ſhe enchanted the ſpirit and will of the poor *Pibrac* in ſuch manner, that he acted not but by her motion, and quite contrary to the intentions of the Queen-mother, who, not diſtruſting that a man ſo wiſe could be capable of ſo great folly, was deceived in many Articles, and inſenſibly carried to grant much more to the *Hugonots* then ſhe had reſolved.

The Queen-mother, *Monſieur* & the *Guiſes*, weary of the peace.

Scarſe were eight months ſpent ſince the peace, but the Queen-mother, *Monſieur* and the *Guiſes*, began to be weary of it. The Queen-mother, becauſe ſhe would not have the King reſt any long time without having need of her Negotiations and intermiſſion: *Monſieur*, becauſe by re-kindling the War, he thought to render himſelf redoubtable to the King, and to make him give him forces to carry into the Low-Countries; which being revolted from *Spain*, demanded him for their Soveraign.

Part I. And in fine, the *Guiſes*, becauſe they feared leſt the ardour of the League ſhould by too long a calm, grow cold.

1579. They under-hand perſwade the King of *Navarre* to a Rupture; In theſe wiſhes, they preſſed the King to re-demand the places of ſecurity granted to the *Hugonots*; and under-hand *Monſieur* and the Queen-mother cauſed it to be told to our *Henry*, that he ſhould not ſurrender them, but hold it out that his cauſe was juſt, and that his ſafety conſiſted in his Arms. *Margaret*, who knew his weakneſs, and who likewiſe wiſht the War, excited him by the perſwaſion of Ladies whom ſhe foſtered to this deſigne; and by the ſame means animated alike all thoſe braves who approached her; nor ſpared ſhe her ſelf with the Viſcount of *Turenne* for this purpoſe; ſo that this Prince, poſſibly with very little juſtice, and certainly to very ill purpoſe, was carried to a rupture, and engaged the *Hugonots* in a new Civil War, which was named for the reaſons I but now ſpake of, *The War of the Lovers*.

which proves very diſadvantagious to him. This was the moſt diſadvantagious they ever yet made: by it they loſt a great quantity of ſtrong places; and were in ſuch manner weakned, that had the purſuit of them been finiſhed, they could never have regained ſtrength.

Monſieur procures the peace. But *Monſieur*, who deſired to tranſport all the forces both of the one and the other party into the Low-Countries, made himſelf Mediator of the peace, and obtained it by an Edict, which was concluded after the Conference of *Flex*.

This peace was the cauſe of almoſt as many evils to the Eſtate, as all the former Wars had been. The two Courts of the two Kings, and the two Kings themſelves, plunged themſelves in their pleaſures, with this difference however, that our *Henry* was not ſo abſolutely lull'd aſleep with his delights, but he thought ſometimes of his affairs, being awakened and lively reminded by the Remonſtrances of the Miniſters of his Religion, and by the reproaches of the old Captains of the *Huguenots*, who ſpoke to him with great liberty. But *Henry* the third was wholly overwhelmed with ſoftneſs and feebleneſs; he ſeemed to have neither heart nor motion: and his ſubjects could ſcarce know that he was in the world, but becauſe he daily charged them with new Impoſts; all the money of which, was diſpoſed to the benefit of his Favorites.

Part I.
Of much damage to the Eſtate, being the cauſe the two *Henries* plunged themſelves in pleaſure.

He had always three or four at a time; and at preſent he began to caſt his graces on *Joyeuſe*, and the two *Nogarets*; to wit, *Bernard* and *Jean-Lewis*, of whom the eldeſt died five or ſix years after, and the youngeſt was Duke of *Eſpernon*, one of the moſt memorable and moſt wonderful Subjects that the Court had ever ſeen elevated in its favour; and who certainly had qualities as eminent as his fortune. In the mean time, the exceſſive gifts which the King gave to all his favorites, excited the cries of the people, becauſe they were trampled on; and their monſtrous greatneſs diſpleaſed the Princes, becauſe they be-

Henry 3. hath favorites, who prejudice his affairs.

lieved

Part I. lieved themſelves deſpiſed; in ſuch manner, that they rendred themſelves odious to all the world; and the hate carried to them, fell likewiſe upon the King, whilſt that violence which they obliged him to uſe towards his Parliaments, to confirm his Edicts of Creation and Impoſts, augmented it yet more; for if his Authority made his Wills paſs as abſolute, he drew the peoples curſes; and if the vigour of the Soveraign companies, as often happened, ſtopt them, he attracted their diſdain.

Diſpoſitions to the League, & to the loſs of *Hen.* 3.

The people, who eaſily licentiate themſelves to Rebellion againſt their Prince, when they have loſt for him all ſentiments of eſteem and veneration, ſpoke ſtrange things of him and his favorites. The *Guiſes*, (whom the Minions (for ſo the favorites were called) oppoſed in all occaſions, endeavouring to deprive them of their Charges and Governments, to re-inveſt themſelves) were not wanting to blow the fire, and to increaſe the animoſities of the people; particularly of the great Cities, whom favorites have always feared, and who have always hated favorites. Theſe were the principal Diſpoſitions to the aggrandizing the League, and to the loſs of *Henry* the third.

1584. It is not to our purpoſe to recount here all the intrigues of the Court during five or ſix years; nor the War of the Low-Countries, from which *Monſieur* (a) brought nothing

but

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a *Monſieur intending to ſurprize* Antwerp, *and treating ill the people of the Low-Countries, who had called him, was driven thence.*

[illegible] is very neceſſary to [illegible] that in the year 1584 Monſieur died at Chaſteau-Thierry, without having been married; that Henry the third had no Children, and that it was but too well known he was incapable of ever having any, by reaſon of an incurable diſeaſe which he contracted at Venice, in his return from Poland. See here the reaſon why, as ſoon as Monſieur was judged to death by the Phyſicians, the Guiſes and Queen-Mother began to labour each on their ſide to aſſure themſelves of the Crown, as if the ſucceſſion had been open to them: for neither the one nor the other accounted for any thing our Henry; ſo much the rather, becauſe he was beyond the ſeventh degree, beyond which in ordinary ſucceſſions is accounted no kindred; and becauſe he was not of the Religion, of which all the Kings of France have been ſince Clovis, and by conſequence incapable to wear the Crown, or bear the Title of Thrice-Christian. Adde to this that he was two hundred Leagues diſtant from Paris, and as it were ſhut up in a corner of Guyenne; where it ſeem'd to them eaſie to enſnare him or oppreſs him.

Part I.

The death of the Monſieur begets thoughts of a Succeſſor to the Crown.

Duke of Guiſe hoped to Reign himſelf.

The Queen-Mother had a deſign to give the Crown to the Children of her Daughter married to the Duke of *Lorrain*, whom ſhe would have treated as Princes of the bloud, as if the Crown of *France* could fall under the command of the Spindle. Nor was ſhe carried to this onely out of the love ſhe had for them, but

The Queen-Mother deſigns to give the Crown to the children of her daughter married to the Duke of *Lorrain*.

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but out of a ſecret hatred ſhe had conceived againſt our Henry, becauſe ſhe ſaw that contrary to all her wiſhes, heaven opened him a way to come to the Throne.

A belief that the Duke of *Guiſe* hoped to Reign himſelf.

Beſides, ſhe was too much deceived for ſo able a woman, to believe that the Duke of *Guiſe* would favour her in her deſign; there was much appearance, and after affaires ſufficiently teſtified it, that ſeeing himſelf perſecuted by the Favorites, and ill treated by the King himſelf, for their ſakes he had thoughts to aſſure the Crown for his own head. “*For ill treatments work at leaſt no* “*other effect then to caſt into extreme deſpair* “*Souls ſo Noble and Elevated as that of this* “*Prince.* But he knowing well that of himſelf he could not arrive at ſo high a pitch, and that ſpecially becauſe it would be difficult to divert the affection which the people of *France* naturally have for the Princes of the Bloud; he adviſed himſelf to gain the old Cardinal *de Bourbon*, who was Uncle of our *Henry*; he promiſed him therefore, that the death of *Henry* the third Arriving, he would employ all his power, and that of his Friends, to make him King; and that good man doting with age, permitting himſelf to be flattered with theſe vain hopes, made himſelf the Bauble of the Dukes Ambition, who by this means drew to his party a great number of Catholiques, who conſidered the houſe of *Bourbon*.

The Queſtion was, if the Uncle ought to

precede the Son of the Elder Brother in the Succeſſion: and to ſpeak truth, the buſineſs was not without ſome difficulty; becauſe according to the Cuſtome of *Paris*, the Capital of the Realm, and many other Cuſtomes, collateral repreſentation hath no place. This point of right was diverſly agitated by the Reverend Judges; and many treats were had, ſome in favour of the Uncle, and others of the Nephew: but theſe were but Combats of words; the ſword was to decide the difference. It ſeemed to many great Politicians, that the Duke of *Guiſe* acted contrary to his own intereſts and deſign, by acknowledgeing that the Cardinal of *Bourbon* ought to ſucceed to the Crown; this being to avow, that after his death, which could ſuffer no long delay, it would appertain to our *Henry* his Nephew.

A belief that the Duke of *Guiſe* hoped to Reign himſelf.

Henry 3. knew well his deſign, or rather was advertiſed of it by his Favorites, who ſaw in it their certain ruine; and therefore ſo much deſired to bring back the King of *Navarre* to the *Catholique* Church, to the end he might deprive the *Leaguers* of that ſpecious Pretext they had to entertain the *League*. He ſent therefore to him the Duke d'*Eſpernon*, who Eſſayed to Convert him by reaſons of intereſt and policy. Our *Henry* hearkned to him; but he teſtified that thoſe were not motives ſufficiently puiſſant to make him Change; and ſent him back with many Civilities.

Henry 3. knew his deſign, or was advertized of it by his favorites; He ſends the Duke d' *Eſpernon* to the King of *Navarre*, to oblige him to return to the Catholick Church: but he refuſes.

The Duke of *Guiſe* profits himſelf of it.

The *Hugonots* were ſo vain, as to publiſh and cauſe to be Printed the conference of this Prince with *Eſpernon*, to ſhew that he was unſhaken in his Religion, and poſſibly likewiſe to engage him more ſtrongly in it. The Duke of *Guiſe* was not wanting to profit himſelf of it, and to remonſtrate to the Catholique people the ſtubbornneſs of this Prince; and what they might hope, if he came to the Crown with ſuch ſentiments.

The League Eſtabliſhed at *Paris*.

The Pope diſapproves it.

To ſtop therefore his way to it, he made the zealous openly renew the League; and boldly bringing it into *Paris*, where ſome new religious perſons inſpired this Ardour into peoples ſouls by Confeſſions, held the firſt publique Aſſembly at the Colledge de *Fortet*, which was called *the Cradle of the League*. Many Burgeſſes, many Tradeſmen, and likewiſe ſome Clerks of *Paris*, entred into it. They carried it to *Rome*, and preſented it to Pope *Gregory* the 13. for his approbation; but he never would give it: and continually, ſo long as he lived, diſavowed it.

It is turned againſt *Henry* the third.

So ſoon as it grew a little great and ſtrong, thoſe who had engendred it, made it appear that it was not only to provide for the ſecurity of Religion for the future, but that at preſent they might approach themſelves neer to the Crown; and that they not onely would have it againſt the King of *Navarre*, who was to Succeed, but againſt *Henry* the third, who now reigned: They kept in Salary certain new Divines, who durſt openly ſuſtain, that a

Prince ought to be depoſed who acquits himſelf not well of his duty: That no power
“but that which is well ordered, is of God;
“otherwiſe, when it paſſes due bounds, it
“is not Authority, but Uſurpation: and that
“it is as abſurd to ſay that he ought to be
“King who knows not how to govern, or
“who is deprived of underſtanding, as to
“believe a blind man a fit guide, or an im-
“moveable Statue able to make living men
“move.

In the mean time the Duke of *Guiſe* was retired to his Government of *Champagne*, feigning himſelf diſcontented; but it was to make the Duke of *Lorrain* ſign the League, out of hopes he would cauſe his Son to ſucceed to the Crown, to which he pretended to have right by his Mother, Daughter to *Henry* the Second. He held to this purpoſe a Treaty at *Joinville*, where he likewiſe found Agents from the King of *Spain*, who ſigned to the Treaty, and as it was reported, did by Letters of Exchange ſupply the Duke of *Guiſe* with great ſums of money.

The Treaty of *Joinville* where the *Spaniards* enter into the League, & furniſh money.

At his departure thence, the Duke aſſembled Troops on all ſides; his friends ſeized on as many places as they could, not onely amongſt the *Hugonots*, but likewiſe amongſt the *Catholiques*. The King might eaſily have diſſipated theſe Levies, had he taken the field. But the Queen-Mother, like to ſelf-intereſted Phyſicians, who would for their profit augment the diſeaſe, withheld and

The League ſeize many places.

Part I. [illegible] him in his Closet, perſwading him that if he would leave to her the management of this affair, ſhe would eaſily reduce the Duke to his obedience. To this purpoſe ſhe held a Conference with him at *Vitry*, and ſo gave him time to ſtrengthen his party; and when he ſaw himſelf in an Eſtate to fear nothing, he broke the Conference, and made ſhew of ſome reſolutions to come directly to *Paris*.

The Queen-mother enters into conference with *Guiſe*; who breaks it when he ſees himſelf in an Eſtate to fear nothing.

The King aſtoniſhed, prayed his mother to conclude an accommodation upon any terms: which ſhe did by the Treaty of *Nemours*, by which ſhe granted to the Duke and other Princes of his houſe, the Government of ſeveral Provinces, many great ſums of money, together with a moſt bloudy Edict againſt the *Hugonots*, which forbad the profeſſion of any other Religion then the *Catholique*, under Penalty of Confiſcation of Goods and Eſtate; with Command to all Preachers and Miniſters to depart the Realm within one month, and all *Hugonots* of what degree or quality ſoever within ſix months, or otherwiſe abjure their falſe Religion. This Edict was called the Edict of *Juillet*, which the League farther conſtrained the King to carry himſelf into the Parliament, and cauſe it to be ratified.

The King aſtoniſhed, grants him all he deſires.

1585.

A little after arrived news from *Rome* that *Sixtus* the fifth, who ſucceeded *Gregory* the thirteenth, had approved the League, and had beſides fulminated out terrible Bulls againſt the King of *Navarre* and Prince of

Pope *Sixtus* 5. excommunicates the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde*.

Conde,

Condé, declaring them Hereticks, Apostates, Chiefs, Favourers and Protectors of Hereticks; and as such falling under the Censures and Pains concluded on in the Laws and Canons; depriving them and their descendants of all Lands and Dignities; incapable to succeed to any Principality whatsoever, especially to the Kingdome of *France*; and not onely absolving their Subjects from all Oaths of Fidelity, but absolutely forbidding them to obey them.

The vertue of our *Henry* awakened.

It was now that our *Henry* had need of all the forces both of his Courage and Vertue to sustain so rude assaults. He seemed in a manner lull'd asleep by his pleasures, when the noise of these great assaults awakened him; he recalled all his Vertue, and began to make it appear more vigorously then ever before. And certainly he afterwards avowed that his enemies had highly obliged him, by persecuting him in this manner: for had they left him in repose, that rest had possibly Entombed him in a corner of *Guyenne*, and he not have been constrained to think of his affairs; so that at the death of *Henry* the third, he would not have been in an Estate to attempt or entertain the Crown.

He doth two noble actions.

He now did two Actions of great renown: the first, was his commanding *Plessis Mornay*, a Gentleman of excellent Education, and who could be reproached with nothing but being a *Huguenot*, to answer the *Manifesto* of the League by an Apologie, and by a Declara-

Instruction which he caused to be drawn. In this last piece (the Chiefs of the League having spread abroad divers calumnies against his honour) he with all submission besought the King his Soveraign, that he would not be offended if he did pronounce, saving still the respect due to his Majesty, that they did falsly and maliciously lye: and moreover, that to spare the blood of his Nobles, and shun the desolation of the poor people, those infinite disorders, and above all, those blaſphemies, burnings and violations which the licenſe of War muſt cauſe, he offered to the Duke of *Guiſe*, chief of the League, to decide this quarrel by his perſon against his, one to one, two to two, or ten to ten, or what number he ſhould pleaſe, with Arms generally in uſe by Cavaleers of honour, either in the Realm of *France*, or in ſuch place as his Majeſty ſhould command, or elſe in ſuch place as the Duke of *Guiſe* himſelf ſhould chuſe.

He defies the Duke of *Guiſe* to ſingle Combat.

This Declaration had a great effect on the peoples ſpirit. They ſaid, That force could not juſtly be employed againſt him, who ſo far ſubmitted himſelf to reaſon: and the greateſt part of the Nobility approved this generous procedure, and proclaimed aloud, that the Duke of *Guiſe* ought not to refuſe ſo great an honour.

That Duke wanted no courage to accept the Defiance; but he conſidered, that drawing his ſword againſt a Prince of the blood, was in *France* accounted a kinde of Parricide; that otherwiſe he could willingly have reduced the

Why the Duke of *Guiſe* accepted not the defiance.

the cauſe of Religion, and of the Publick, not a Party, or a particular Quarrel. He therefore prudently anſwered, That he eſteemed the perſon of the King of Navarre, and would have no controverſie with him; but that he onely intereſſed himſelf for the Catholick Religion, which was threatned, and for the tranquillity of the Kingdome, which onely and abſolutely depended on the unity of Religion.

The other gallant Action of our Henry.

His other Action was thus. Having underſtood the noiſe of thoſe paper-Thunder-bolts which the Pope had thrown out againſt him, he diſpatched one to the King to make his Complaints to him; and to remonſtrate to him, That this procedure concerned his Majeſty more then himſelf; That he ought to judge, That if the Pope took upon him to decide concerning his ſucceſſion, and ſhould ſeize to himſelf a right to declare a Prince of the blood unable of the Crown, he might afterwards well paſs further, and dethrone himſelf, as *Zachary* is reported to have formerly degraded *Childeric* 3.

He cauſes to be fixed up at the corners of the chief ſtreets of *Rome*, oppoſitions to the ſentence of *Sixtus* 5.

Upon theſe Remonſtrances, the King himſelf ſtopped the publication of thoſe Bulls in his Dominions. But our *Henry*, not contenting himſelf therewith, knowing himſelf to have friends at *Rome*, proved ſo hardy as to fix his and the Prince of *Condé* his oppoſition at the corners of the chiefeſt ſtreets of the City; by which thoſe Princes appealed from the ſentence of *Sixtus*, to the Court of *Peerage* of *France*; giving the Lye to whoever accuſed them of the crime of Heresie, offering to prove the contrary in a general Council; and in the mean time protesting that they would revenge upon Sixtus and upon all his successours, the injury done their King, the Royal Family, and all the Courts of Parliament.

It could not but be supposed, that this opposition would incense to the utmost the spirit of *Sixtus* the fifth; and indeed at first he testified a very furious emotion: however, when his Choler was a little asswaged, he admired the great Courage of that King, who at such a distance had known how to revenge himself, and fix the marks of his resentment even at the gates of his Palace: in such manner, that he conceived so great an esteem for him, (so true is it, that Vertue makes it self be reverenced by its very enemies) that he was often afterwards heard say, That of all those who reigned in *Christendome*, there was none but this Prince, and *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, to whom he would have communicated those great things which agitated his spirit, if they had not been Hereticks. Nor could all the prayers of the League ever oblige him to furnish any thing towards the charges of this War, which possibly overwhelmed the greatest part of their Enterprizes, because their hopes in part depended on a Million which he had promised them.

who at first is incensed, but afterwards conceives a great esteem for him.

Now as on their side, the Chiefs of the League endeavoured to engage on their party all the Lords and Cities they could; our *Hero* ry on his part reunited with himſelf all his friends, both of the one and the other Religion; the Marſhal of Damville Montmorency, Governour of Languedoc; the Duke of Montpenſier, Prince of the blood, who was Governour of Britany, with his Son the Prince of Dombes; the Prince of Condé; who held a part of Poictou, of Xaintonge, and of Angoumois: the Count of Soiſſons and the Prince of Conty his brother. Of theſe five Princes of the blood, the three laſt were his Coſin Germans; the two firſt were removed one degree further; and all profeſſed the Catholick Religion, ſave onely the Prince of Condé. He had likewiſe on his part Leſdiguieres; who, from a plain Gentleman, had by his Valour elevated himſelf to ſo high a point, that he was Maſter of the Dauphinee, and made the Duke of Savoy tremble; Claudius de la Trimouille, who poſſeſſed great lands in Poictou and Britany; and was ſometimes before turned Huguenot, that he might have the honour to marry his Daughter to the Prince of Condé; Henry de la Tour, Viſcount de Turenne, who either out of complacency, or true perſwaſion, had eſpouſed the new Religion; Chaſtillon, ſon to the Admiral of Coligny; la Boulaye Lord Poictevin; Rene, chief of the houſe of Rohan; George de Clermont d'Amboiſe; Francis, Count of Rochefoucault; the Lord de Aubeterre; James de Caumont la Force; the Seigneur de Pons; Saint Gelais Lanſac; with many other Lords and Gentlemen of remark, all, or moſt, of the new Religion.

Part I.

The King of Navarre makes a League to defend himſelf.

who at firſt is incenſed, but afterwards conceives a great eſteem for him.

1586.

Henry 3. hated both the League & the Huguenots, and loved none but his favourites.

The Queen-mother endeavours an accommodation with the King of Navarre.

gium; At the ſame time he diſpatched to *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, and to the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, ſuch able Agents, that they joyned all together in a ſtrong Union; The One to maintain the Other; ſo that all theſe being united, all things arrived contrary to what the League expected; and our *Henry* found himſelf fortified in ſuch manner, that he had no longer any apprehenſion of being oppreſſed, without having the means to defend himſelf.

I ſhall not make here a particular Recital of the Actions either of the one or the other party during the years 1585. and 1586. becauſe I have obſerved nothing very conſiderable.

1586. King *Henry* the third was extreamly perplexed at this War, which was maintained at his expence, and to his great prejudice, ſince they diſputed the ſucceſſion, he yet living, and well, and already conſidered him as one dead. He loved neither the one nor the other power, but did ſo much cheriſh his Favourites, (ſtrange blindneſs!) that he could have deſired, had it been in his power, to have parted his Eſtate amongſt them. The League on their ſide pretended to have power enough to carry it; and our *Henry* hoped to fruſtrate the deſigns both of the one and the other. The Queen-mother having other wiſhes for the children of her Daughter married to the Duke of *Lorrain*, promiſed the King to finde means to

Henry 3. hated both the League & the *Hugonots*, and loved none but his favourites.

The Queen-mother endeavours an accommodation with the King of *Navarre*.

to calm all theſe tempeſts. To this purpoſe ſhe procured a Truce with our Henry; during which, an Interview was agreed upon between him and her at the Caſtle of St. *Brix* near *Cognac*, where both the one and the other met in the month of *December*.

The Interview and conference at St. *Brix*.

There was ſome difficulty to finde ſecurity both for the one and the other; but eſpecially for the Queen-mother, who was wonderfully diſtruſtful. Our *Henry* hereupon did an Action of great Generoſity; which he managed in this manner: There had a Truce been agreed upon for the ſecurity of this Conference, in ſuch ſort, that if either party broke it, they were in fault, and might juſtly be arreſted: now ſome of our *Henry*'s followers, feigning to be Traytors, had enticed ſome of the Catholick Captains, too greedy of the booty, to *Fontenay*, which they would have let them take; by this means the Catholicks would have remained convict of perfidy, and he had had good pretence to arreſt the Queen-mother; but this generous Prince, having underſtood the carriage of this foul play, was extreamly troubled againſt thoſe who conceived it, and forbad them to continue it. Was not this to have the true ſentiments of honour founded in his Soul, and not onely in his exteriour Carriage?

A noble & generous Action of our Prince.

And as he teſtified his Generoſity in that Rencounter, ſo he made known his Conſtancy and the power of his Spirit in all the Diſcourſe. The Queen demanding of him what

His conſtancy in the whole conference.

it

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as much as she would; he answered, regarding those Ladies she had brought with her, *Madam, there is nothing here that I would have:* as if he would have said, That he would no longer permit himself to be drawn away by such amusements. She endeavoured above all things to disunite him with the other Chiefs of the party, or to render him suspected, offering all that he demanded as to his particular: but he, knowing well her stratagem, held firmly to this point, That he could not treat any thing without communicating it to his Friends.

Conference at St. Brix produceth nothing.

After a long entertainment, she demanding him if the pains she had taken should produce no more fruit, especially to her, who onely wished for repose; he answered her, *Madam, I am not the cause of it; nor is it I who hinder you from resting in your Bed, 'tis you that hinder me from resting in mine. The pains you take, pleaseth and nourisheth you; your Repose is the greatest enemy of your life.*

He made many other Replies, very lively and full of spirit: but above all, that was observable which he made to the Duke of Nevers, of the house of *Gonzague*, who accompanied the Queen-mother. This Duke advancing once to tell him that he might live much more honourably near the King than among those people who had no authority, and that if he should have occasion for money at *Rochel*, he would scarce have the credit to raise one impost; he fiercely replyed, *Sir, I do*

A handsome answer to Duke de Nevers.

[illegible] ; *becauſe it was pleaſure to do nothing but laugh.*

Conference at St. *Brix* produceth nothing.

This Conference of St. *Brix* having produced nothing but new Exaſperations, and the Queen-mother being returned, the Guiſes who endeavoured by all means poſſible to revenge themſelves of the Favourites, made offers of their ſervice to our *Henry*; and the Duke of *Mayenne* ſent to tell him, that there might means be found for an accommodation, if he would underſtand them; that he would come to finde him with four horſe, at whatever place he pleaſed; and that he would give him his Wife and Children for Hoſtage. This Negotiation had no ſucceſs, nor can I finde the cauſe why it was interrupted.

Dances and Feaſts in the Courts of the two Kings.

Blaiſe de Monluc, *Marſhal of* France, *who writ in theſe times, ſays in his* Memoires, *That whatever affair there were of force, the Dancing was ſtill to go forward.*

The reſt of the Winter paſſed in the two Courts in Feaſts and Dances: for though among the miſeries and troubles of the Kingdome, Queen *Katherine* had introduced that cuſtome of Dancing in all places and in all ſeaſons: which ſhe did, as it was ſaid, to amuſe the great ones of the Court in thoſe vain Divertiſements, there being nothing which more diſſipates the powers of the ſpirit, nor which is more capable, if we may ſpeak ſo, to diſſolve the forces of the ſoul, then the raviſhing ſound of Violins, the continual agitation of the body, and Charms of Ladies. After the Examples of the Court, Dances and Maskes reigned in all the Realm: Nor could the Remonſtrances of the Miniſters hinder theſe Dances among the greateſt part of the *Hugo-*

not

[illegible]

1587.

An Army of German Protestants enter France.

worthy note, although there were [illegible] who could [illegible] yet also were [illegible] in the Spring, some Enterprises begun, both on one part and the other, but they were nothing in comparison of what was done towards the end of the Summer. The Protestant Princes of Germany sent an Army to the assistance of the Huguenots, consisting of Five thousand Lansquenets or German Foot, Sixteen thousand Switzers, and Six thousand Reistres or German Horse. They traversed Lorrain and Champagne, afterwards passed the Seine, and marched towards the Loire, as if they would have passed it, or coast along it in their advancing. At the same time the King of Navarre had gathered his forces towards Rochel, and endeavoured to come to meet them upon the Bankes of the Loire; but he was hindred by an Army of the Kings, commanded by the Duke of Joyeuse, who had order diligently to pursue him. The Duke of Guise having likewise gathered the forces of his party, and though they were very small, followed sometimes the German horse, sometimes coasted them, and oftentimes placed himself amongst them without any great danger; so much the rather, because this too weighty body of strangers could not easily move, being troubled with a great baggage, not having a Chief either of any great Credit, or sufficiently intelligent to Conduct, and all its Captains being in discord and bad intelligence one with the other.

It is followed by the Duke of Guise.

By reaſon of all theſe defaults, this Army could never take any good Reſolution. The *Loire* was fordable in many places, for it was about the end of *September*: but nevertheleſs they would not paſs it, but came to ſpread themſelves in the *Champaines* of *Beauſſe*, expecting News from the King of *Navarre*; inſtead of advancing amongſt the *Nivernois*, and gaining *Burgongne*. The intention of the King of *Navarre*, was to advance along *Dordogne*, and from thence enter into *Guyenne*; and after having gathered together all his Forces, to meet the Proteſtant Army in *Burgongne*, by the favour of thoſe Provinces were his friends. But the Duke of *Joyeuſe* obſtinately purſued him, imagining he fled, becauſe in effect he avoided fighting, having no other end then a Conjunction with the *Germans*.

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It doth nothing to purpoſe.

The King of *Navarre* would joyn with them, but the Duke of *Joyeuſe* makes head againſt him with an Army.

This new Duke was much declined in his favour with the King, who had received advice that he inclined much to the League; not that he loved the *Guiſes*, but becauſe he had permitted it to be put into his head by his flatterers, that he deſerved to be Chief of that great party; and he held the deſtruction of the *Hugonots* ſo certain, that he had obtained from the Pope the Confiſcation of all the Soveraign Territories of our *Henry*. Deſiring therefore to ſuſtain his Reputation and Favour which were then tottering, he purſued him ſo cloſely, that he overtook him near to *Coutras*.

The Duke overtakes him near *Coutras*.

The Army of *Joyeuſe* was, as one may ſay,

What the Army of *Joyeuſe* was.

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all of Gold, ſhining with Silver and Gold Laces; with Damasked Arms; with Feathers in great Plumes; with Embroydered Scarfs; with Velvet Coats; with which every Lord, according to the mode of the times, had furniſhed his Companies: but the Army of the King of *Navarre*, was all of Iron, having no other then Grizled Arms, without any Ornament, with great Belts of Buff, and labouring Habits. The firſt had the advantage in number, having ſix hundred Horſe, and a thouſand Foot, more then the other; the half of its Infantry, Dragoons; its Cavalry almoſt all Lances, and moſt mounted on managed Horſes: it had beſides for it, the Name and Authority of the King, and aſſurance of Rewards; but the better half of it was compoſed of new Troops, which wanted Order and Diſcipline. It had a General without Authority; an hundred Chiefs in ſtead of one; and all young people, elevated in the Delights of the Court; having ſufficient Heart and Courage, but without any Experience.

What that of the King.

The other on the contrary was compoſed of all the choice men of its party: the old remnant of the Battails of *Jarnac* and *Moncontour*; people bred up in the myſtery of War, and hardned by the continual endurance of Fights and Adverſities. It had at its Head, three Princes of the Blood, the Chief of them well obeyed and reverenced as the preſumptive Heir of the Crown, the love of the Souldiery, and hope of all good French-men: beſides, it was armed with a neceſſity either to overcome or die; Armour of more proof then either Steel or Braſs.

His Exhortation to his Army, and to the Princes of the Blood.

Orders being given, the King of *Navarre* called all his Chiefs; and from a little riſing ground, exhorted them in few words; but ſuch as were agreeable both to his Quality and the time; taking Heaven to witneſs, that he fought not againſt his King, but for the Defence of his Religion and Right. Afterwards addreſſing himſelf to the two Princes of the Blood, *Condé* and *Soiſſons*; *I ſhall ſay nothing elſe to you*, ſaid he, *but that you are of the houſe of Bourbon; and if God live, I will now ſhew you that I am worthy to be the firſt-born of that Family.*

His valour & bravery.

His Valour that day appeared above that of all others. He had placed on his Head-piece a Plume of white Feathers, both to make himſelf known, and becauſe he loved that colour; ſo that ſome putting themſelves before him, with deſigne to ſhelter and defend his perſon, he cryed out to them, *To your Quarters, I pray you, and do not ſhadow me; for I would appear.* "A Bravery without doubt abſolutely "neceſſary for a Conquerour, but which "would be temerity and an unſupportable "fault in a Prince well eſtabliſhed. He broke the firſt ranks of the Enemy, and took Priſoners with his own hands, and came even to handy-gripes with one named *Chaſteau-Reynard*, Cornet of a Company of *Gens d'Arms*, ſaying to him, *Deliver thy Colours.*

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The Battail being gained, ſome having ſeen the Flyers, who made a halt, came to tell him, that the Army of the Marſhal of *Matignon* appeared: he received this News as a new ſubject of Glory; and turning bravely towards his people, *Let us go, my Friends,* ſaid he; *this will be a thing never before ſeen, two Battails in one day.*

It was not onely his Valour made him worthy to be admired in this occaſion; it was likewiſe his Juſtice, Moderation and Clemency; for his Juſtice, we may recount what follows.

An Action of great Juſtice, and Chriſtian Humility.

He had debauched the Daughter of an Officer of *Rochel*; a thing which had diſhonoured that Family, and very much ſcandalized him among the *Rochellers*. A Miniſter, as the Squadrons were almoſt ready to go to the charge, and that the Prayer was to be made, took the Liberty to remonſtrate to him, That God could not favour his Arms, if he did not before demand pardon for that offence, repair the ſcandal by a publick ſatisfaction, and reſtore Honour to a Family he had deprived of it. The good King humbly hearkned to theſe Remonſtrances, fell upon his Knees, demanded of God pardon for his fault; prayed all thoſe who were preſent to ſerve as witneſſes of his repentance; and to aſſure the Father of the Maiden, that if God gave him the grace to live, he would repair as much as poſſible the Honour he had deprived her of. So Chriſtian a ſubmiſſion, drew tears from all the Aſſiſtants, nor was there any who would not have ventured a thouſand Lives for a Prince who ſo cordially inclined himſelf to do Reaſon to his inferiours.

The Battail of *Coutras*, which he gains.

Having thus overcome himſelf, God made him Conquerour over his Enemies: and who knows but that he exalted him, becauſe he ſo Chriſtianly humbled himſelf? The Enemies Army was wholly defeated, with the loſs of five thouſand men; all their Cannon, baggage, Enſignes, and all their chief Commanders, were taken Priſoners, except two or three, among whom were the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, and of St. *Saviour* his brother, who were found dead on the place.

Joyeuſe ſlain.

That night, our Conquerour finding his Lodgings full of Priſoners and wounded perſons of the Enemy, was conſtrained to cauſe his Bed to be carried to thoſe of *Pleſſis Mornay*; but the Body of *Joyeuſe* being laid forth on the Table in the Hall, he was there forced to mount on high; and there, while he ſupt, were preſented unto him the priſoners, fifty ſix Foot-Enſignes, and twenty two Standards and Cornets.

It was a fair and glorious Spectacle for this Prince, to have under his feet that Enemy who had obtained from the Pope the Confiſcation of his Territories; to ſee his Table environed with ſo many Noble Captains, and his Chamber tapiſtred with Enſignes. But to ſpeak truth, it was much more agreeable to generous Souls, to ſee, that amongſt ſo many ſub-

Part I. jects of Vanity and Pride; and in ſo juſt reſentments of thoſe bloudy injuries done him, (things which often tranſport the ſweeteſt Souls to inſolence and cruelty) there could not be obſerved either in his words or countenance, the leaſt ſign that might breed any ſuſpition, that either his Conſtancy or Goodneſs were ever ſo little altered: but on the contrary, ſhewing himſelf as Courteous and Humane in his victory, as he had ſhewed himſelf brave and redoubtable in fight; he ſent back almoſt all the Priſoners without ranſome, reſtored their baggage to many, took great care of the wounded, and gave the body of *Joyeuſe* and *S. Savenr* to the Viſcount *de Turenne*, who was their Kinſman; and diſpatched the next morning his Maſter of Requeſts to the King, to intreat peace of him: from whence it was judged, that ſo great a courage would overcome all its enemies, and that nothing would be capable to renverſe his fortune, whom ſo great a proſperity was not able to move.

His moderation and admirable Clemency in his Victory.

He was however blamed, for not having hotly purſued his victory, and for having permitted that Triumphant Army to break by, not again employing them in ſome great exploit. It was believed, and there was much appearance for it, that he would not preſs things too forward, for fear of too much offending the King, with whom he deſired yet to keep ſome meaſures; hoping daily that he might reconcile himſelf to him, and re-

He purſues it not, and wherefore.

turn to Court, where it was neceſſary he ſhould be, that he might be in a condition to take the Crown, when *Henry* the third ſhould dye. In fine, were it for this reaſon, or other, he retired into *Gaſcoigne*, and from thence into *Bearne*, under pretext of ſome affairs; carrying with him only Five hundred horſe, and the Count of *Soiſſons*, whom he kept neer him, out of hopes to make him Eſpouſe his ſiſter. The Prince of *Conde* returned to *Rochel*, and *Turenne* to *Perigord*.

Defeat of the *German* horſe.

In the mean time, that great Army of *Germans* having received many checks in ſeveral places, but eſpecially at *Auneau* in *Beauſſe*, where the Duke of *Guiſe* ſlew or took Priſoners Three thouſand *Reiſtres*; afterward at *Pont de Gien*, where the Duke *d'Eſpernon* took Twelve hundred *Lanſquenets*, or Foot, and almoſt all the Cannon; willingly hearkened to an agreement, which the King cauſed to be propoſed to them: and afterwards retired by *Burgongne*, and by the County of *Montbeliard*, but were ſtill purſued farther in that County, by the Duke of *Guiſe*.

The reſt of that Army retire.

1588

Prognoſtications of the evils of the year 1588.

Now began the year One thouſand five hundred eighty eight; which all Judicial Aſtrologers had called the wonderful year, becauſe they foreſaw ſo great a number of ſtrange accidents, and ſuch confuſion in natural cauſes, that they were aſſured, that if the end of the world came not, there would happen at leaſt an Univerſal Change.

These Prognoſticks were ſeconded by a number of terrible Prodigies which arrived throughout all *Europe*. In *France* there were great Earthquakes along the River *Loire*, and likewiſe in *Normandy*. The Sea was for ſix weeks together diſturbed with continual tempeſts, which ſeemed to confound both heaven and earth. In the Air appeared divers Phantaſmes of fire; and on the four and twentieth of *January*, *Paris* was covered with ſo horrible a darkneſs, that thoſe who had the beſt eyes, could ſcarce ſee any thing at noon-day, without the help of lights. All theſe Prodigies ſeemed to ſignifie what ſoon after Arrived, the death of the Prince of *Conde*, the Beſieging of *Paris*, the Subverſion of the whole Realm, the Murthering of *Meſſieurs de Guiſe*, and in fine the *Parricide* of *Henry* the third.

Death of the Prince of *Conde*.

As for the Prince of *Condey* he died in the month of *March*, at *S. John d'Angely*, where he then made his reſidence. Though there had been a ſecret jealouſie between him and the King of *Navarre*, even to the making of two factions in their party, yet the King reſented this loſſe with an extreme grief; and having ſhut himſelf up in his Cloſet, with the *Count de Soiſſons*, he was heard to caſt forth great cries, and ſay that he had loſt his right hand. However, after his grief was a little evaporated, he recovered his Spirit; and caſting all his truſt on Divine Protection, he came forth, ſaying with a heart full of Chri-

The King of *Navarre* much afflicted.

But in his affliction puts his truſt in God.

ſtian

my aſſiſtance? *God is my refuge and my ſup-port, in him will I hope, and I ſhall not be confounded.* **Psal.**

It was truly a great loſſe for him; he was alone to ſupport all the weight of affairs, and being deprived of this aſſiſter, remained more expoſed to the attempts of the League, who had now only to give a like blow to his perſon, to remain Conquerours in all their affairs. He had therefore juſt cauſe to fear their attempts. However, the Duke of *Guiſe* had a heart ſo Noble and great, that whilſt he lived, he would never ſuffer ſuch deteſtable waies.

The League rejoyce.

The Confidence of the League encreaſed wonderfully, by the death of this Prince; they teſtified extraordinary rejoycings, and publiſhed that it was an effect of the Juſtice of God, and of the Apoſtolick curſes. The *Hugonots* on the contrary, were in an extreme conſternation, conſidering that they had loſt in him their moſt aſſured Chief, becauſe they believed him firmly perſwaded in their Religion; but had not the ſame opinion of the King of *Navarre.* In effect, the Confuſion and Diſorder was ſo great amongſt them, that in all appearance, had they continued ſtrongly to proſecute them, they might have ſoon ruined them.

The *Hugonots* afflicted.

Sentiments of *Hen.* 3.

The King hated them mortally, and would willingly have conſented; but he would manage things in ſuch manner, that their deſtruction ſhould not prove the agrandizing of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and his own loſſe; but this

Duke

The Duke of *Guiſe* preſſeth him to give him forces to exterminate the *Hugonots*.

Duke knowing his intentions, preſſed him continually to give him forces utterly to exterminate the *Hugonots*, in whoſe ruine he infallibly hoped to involve the King of *Navarre*.

The Duke of *Guiſe* much loved, and *Hen.* 3. much hated.

He had this advantage over the King, that he had acquiſted the love of the people, principally by two means; the firſt, by his oppoſing himſelf to the new Impoſts; and the ſecond, by continually being at variance with the Favorites, nor ever bending before them: whilſt the doing of things contrary, had made the King fall into an extreme low Eſteem, and had likewiſe taken away the heat of ſome of his ſervants love. See here an Example.

D' Eſpinac & *Villeroy* become friends to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and why.

The King had two great men in his Councel, *Peirre d' Eſpinac* Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, and *Villeroy* Secretary of State: The Duke *d'Eſpernon*, who was fierce and haughty, would treat them according to his proud humour; they grew exaſperated againſt him, and thereupon change their affection to the Duke of *Guiſe* his party, but without doubt ſtill in their hearts remaining moſt faithful to the King and Crown of *France*, as afterward well appeared, eſpecially in the perſon of *Villeroy*.

The ill Conduct of *Henry* 3.

In the mean time, the King lived after the ordinary manner, in the profuſions of an odious Luxury, and in the lazineſs of a contemptible Retreat; paſſing his time either in ſeeing Dances, or in playing with little Dogs, of which he had great numbers of all ſorts;

or elſe in Teaching Parriquets to ſpeak, or in Cutting of Images, or in other Occupations more becoming an Infant then a King.

The Conduct and employs of the Duke of *Guiſe*.

But the Duke of *Guiſe* loſt no time: he made dayly new friends, conſerved his old ones, careſſed the people, teſtified a great zeal for the Eccleſiaſticks, undertook their defence againſt all would oppreſs them; and every where appeared with the Splendor and Gravity of a Prince, but yet without Pride, without Arrogancy: The *Pariſians* were intoxicated with eſteem for him; the greateſt part of the Parliament, and moſt part of the other Officers attended his motions, and teſtified to him the affection they ought to the ſervice of the King.

There were an infinite number of people who had ſigned the League: and in the ſixteen Quarters or Wards of *Paris*, when they could not gain the Quarteniers or Aldermen, they choſe one the moſt violent of the Leaguers to act in their function; by reaſon of which, they afterwards called at *Paris* the Principal of this party, and their faction, *the ſixteen*: not that they were but *ſixteen*, for their number exceeded Ten thouſand, but all diſperſed through the ſixteen Quarters.

What the *ſixteen* were.

The King would puniſh them.

Now the King, principally incited by the Duke *d'Eſpernon*, reſolved to puniſh the forwardeſt of theſe *ſixteen*, who in all occaſions ſhewed themſelves furious enemies of that Favorite. By this means he thought to

overthrow

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overthrow the League, and abſolutely ruine the Credit and Reputation of the Duke of *Guiſe*. He cauſed therefore ſome Troops ſecretly to enter into *Paris*, and gave order to ſeize on thoſe perſons.

The Duke of *Guiſe* haſtes to defend them.

The Duke of *Guiſe* being adviſed of it, poſts from *Soiſſons*, where he then was, reſolving to periſh rather then loſe his friends. Barricadoes were raiſed in the month of *May*, even to the Gates of the *Louvre*, and the Kings Troops were all cut in pieces or diſarmed. The Queen-mother, according to her ordinary cuſtome, became mediatrix of an Accommodation, but the King fearing to be incloſed; in a fright, retires to *Chartres*.

The King retires to *Chartres*.

The League becomes Miſtriſs of *Paris*.

The League by this becoming Miſtreſs of *Paris*, take poſſeſſion of the *Baſtille*, the *Hoſtel de Ville*, and the *Temple*; hang the Provoſt of the Merchants, and the Civil Lieutenant. And at the ſame time they aſſured themſelves of *Orleans*, *Bourges*, *Amiens*, *Abbeville*, *Montreuil*, *Rouen*, *Rheims*, *Chaalons*, and more then twenty other Cities in ſeveral Provinces; the people every where crying, *Long live Guiſe*, *Long live the Protector of the Faith.*

The *Pariſians* ſend Deputies to the King

The King, not without much reaſon, was extreamly affrighted. The *Pariſians* deputed ſome to him to *Chartres*, to ask pardon: but withal, they demand the extirpation of Hereſie. All the world encreaſed his fears, none fortified his Courage. In this diſtreſs he knew no ſecurer way to ſhun that danger which threatned him, then by eſſaying to diſarm his ſubjects. To this effect he ſends one of his Maſters of the Requeſts to the Parliament, to let them underſtand, that his abſolute intention was to forget all that was paſt; ſo that every one returned to his Duty, and to labour diligently for the Reformation of the Kingdome; for which end, he found it convenient to aſſemble the General Eſtates at the end of the year, where they might provide for the aſſuring a Catholick Succeſſor of the Blood-Royal; proteſting, that he would obſerve inviolably all the Reſolutions of the Eſtates; but that he would have them free, and without Faction, and that from that day all his Subjects ſhould lay down Arms.

The King pardons all; ſo they lay down Arms.

It much troubled the Duke of *Guiſe* to conſent to the laying down Arms; fearing leſt when he was left defenceleſs, he ſhould remain at the mercy of his enemies, and particularly of the Duke *d' Eſpernon*. He therefore ſtirred up the Pariſians by a famous deputation, to demand the continuation of the War againſt the *Hugonots*, and the expulſion of that Duke. The King after ſome reſiſtance, granted both the one and the other; for he cauſed to be Ratified in Parliament an Edict moſt advantagiouſly favourable for the League, and moſt bloody againſt the *Hugonots*; and he bid Adieu to the Duke *d' Eſpernon*, who retired into his Government of *Angoumois*.

The Duke of *Guiſe* demands the expulſion of *Eſpernon*; which is in the end granted.

After this, the Duke of *Guiſe* came to attend the King at *Chartres*, having the Queen-mothers

And after comes to the Court at *Chartres*.

mothers word for his Security; and both gave great aſſurances of his Fidelity, and received all the teſtimonies he could wiſh, of the affection of the King; inſomuch that he made him great Maſter of the *Gens d'Arms* of *France*.

In the mean time the League gained the upper hand throughout all the Provinces on this ſide the *Loire*, and cauſed Deputies for the Eſtates to be elected at its pleaſure. In the moneth of *November*, the Eſtates aſſembled in the City of *Blois*. It is not neceſſary here to recount all their intrigues. In fine, the King perſwading that they had conſpired to dethrone him, cauſed the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Cardinal his Brother, to be ſlain in the Caſtle; and kept priſoner the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, the Prince of *Joinville*, who after the Death of his Father was called Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Duke of *Nemours*, brother by the mother to the firſt Duke.

The Eſtates of *Blois*.

The death of the *Guiſes*.

The Queen-mother, under whoſe word the *Guiſes* thought to have been in ſecurity, was ſo touched with the reproaches made her, and with the ſlightings of the King her Son, who after this, believed he had no more need of her, that ſhe died with grief and envy a few days after, lamented by no perſon, not ſo much as by her Son, and generally hated by all parties.

Death of Queen *Katherine de Medices*.

In truth, if ever there were an Action ambiguous or problematical, it was this. The ſervants of the King ſaid that he was conſtrained to it by the extream audacity of the *Guiſes*; and

Different Judgments concerning the death of the *Guiſes*.

and that if he had not prevented them, they had ſhaved him, and ſhut him up in a Monaſtery. But the ill repute he had among all men, the general eſteem theſe Princes had acquired, and the odious circumſtances of the murther, made it appear horrible even to the eyes of the very *Hugonots*, who ſaid, that this much reſembled the bloody Maſſacre of St. *Bartholomew*.

1589.

Our *Henry* ſpeaks very wiſely.

Our *Henry* conſerved a wiſe Mediocrity in this rencounter: he deplored their death, and gave praiſes to their Valour: but he ſaid, That certainly the King had very puiſſant Motives to treat them in that manner: and for the reſt, that the Judgements of God were great, and his Grace thrice-ſpecial towards him, having revenged him of his Enemies, and neither engaged his Conſcience nor his hand in it. For certain Gentlemen having often offered themſelves to him with a determinate reſolution to go kill the Duke of *Guiſe*, he had always let them know, that he abhorred ſuch a Propoſition, and that he would neither eſteem them his friends, nor honeſt men, if they conſerved it in their thoughts.

He changeth not his Conduct.

His Council being aſſembled upon this great News, found, that he ought not for it make any change in the conduct of his Affairs, becauſe the King, though himſelf might be willing to it, durſt not for ſome moneths ſpeak of a Peace with him, for fear leſt he ſhould make it be believed that he had ſlain the *Guiſes* to favour the *Hugonots*; ſo that he continued the War, and kept ſeveral places.

In

Part I.

In the mean time, the progreſs of Affairs beat him out a path to lead him to the heart of the Kingdom, and return him to the Court, which was the poſt he ought moſt to wiſh for.

1589. Henry 3. amuſing himſelf too much at Blois, the League is re-aſſured, and grows furious.

Henry the third, amuſing himſelf after the murther of the *Guiſes*, to examine the Acts of the Eſtates at *Blois*, inſtead of mounting preſently to horſe, and ſhewing himſelf in thoſe places where his preſence was moſt neceſſary; the League, which at firſt had been aſtoniſhed at ſo great a blow, regained its ſpirits. The great Cities, and principally *Paris*, who were poſſeſſed with this madneſs, having had leiſure to diſſipate their amazement, paſſed from fear to pity, and from pity to fury. The *Sixteen* choſe at *Paris* the Duke of *Aumale* for their Governour. The Preachers and Church-men declaimed horribly againſt the King; the people ſnatched down his Arms where ever they found them, and dragged them through the dirt.

The Parliament impriſoned in the *Baſtille* by *Buſſy le clerk*; forced to ſwear to the the League. A part remains at *Paris*, and the other go to the King, who transfers all to *Tours*.

The Parliament, who would have oppoſed this rage, were impriſoned in the *Baſtille* by *Buſſy le Clerk*, a ſimple Proctor, but very much eſteemed among the *Sixteen*; and were forced, to regain their Liberty, to ſwear to the League. At their coming forth of the *Baſtille*, there were many who continued to hold the Parliament at *Paris*; the others ſtole away by little and little, and went to the King, who tranſported the Parliament to *Tours*, where they kept their Seſſion until the reducement of *Paris*, in the year fifteen hundred [illegible] than [illegible]. Theſe without doubt rendered their fidelity to their King; but thoſe who remained at *Paris*, rendered him afterwards much greater ſervice, as ſhall be obſerved in its place.

Part [illegible]

The Widow of the Duke of *Guiſe* preſented her requeſt to theſe, to take information of the Death of her Husband, and demanded of the Commiſſaries, that proceſs might be made againſt thoſe ſhould be found convicted of it. She received favourable Concluſions from the Proctor-General; and they proceeded very far on this ſubject, even againſt the perſon of *Henry* 3. but I cannot ſay to what point, becauſe the Papers were taken from the Regiſters of Parliament, when *Henry* the Great re-entred into *Paris*.

Thoſe of the Parliament remaining at *Paris*, make proceſs againſt *Henry* 3.

We cannot ſufficiently deteſt like Revolts againſt a Soveraign; but theſe Examples ought to make him know, that though he holds his power from on high, yet the Obedience depends on the Caprichio of the people, and that he ought ſo to carry himſelf as not to attract their hatred; otherwiſe, ſince men have the impudence to blaſpheme God, why may they not have it to revolt againſt Kings?

An excellent reflection for Kings.

Whilſt theſe things were acting, *Henry* the third underſtood that Pope *Sixtus* the fifth had excommunicated him for the murther of Cardinal *de Guiſe*. This great fire in a little time ſpread quite through *France*. The Duke of *Mayenne*, who was at *Lyons* making war a-

Henry 3. excommunicated by Pope *Sixtus* 5.

The Duke of *Mayenne* aſſures

gainſt the *Hugonots*, being advertiſed by a Courrier from *Ruſſieu* his Secretary (who prevented the Kings) departing from that City, came into his own Government of *Burgongne*, aſſured himſelf of *Dijon* and of *Province*; and thence paſſed into *Champagne*, who ſtretched out their Arms to him; after to *Orleance*, which was already revolted; and to *Chartres*, whom his approaches made likewiſe riſe: and in the end he came to *Paris*. The *Sixteen*, and many of his friends, would have adviſed him to have taken the Title of *King*, which they would have cauſed to be given him by the Council which the League had eſtabliſhed: But he refuſed, contenting himſelf with the Title of *Lord-General of the Eſtate and Crown of France*; which he took, as if the Throne had been vacant. They likewiſe broke the Seals of the King, and made others, whereon on one ſide was engraven the Arms of *France*; and on the other, a Throne empty, and for Inſcription about it, the Name and Quality of the Duke of *Mayenne* in this manner; Charles *Duke of* Mayenne, *Lieutenant of the Eſtate and Crown of* France.

himſelf of *Burgongne* and *Champagne*, and comes to *Paris*.

He takes the quality of Lieutenant-General of the Eſtate and Crown of *France*: they likewiſe break the Kings Seals.

All *France* took part in this occaſion; and almoſt all the Cities and Provinces of the Realm ranged themſelves on the Duke of *Mayenne's* ſide. The King, fearful that he ſhould be ſhut up in *Blois*, retired to *Tours*. There now reſted onely one way for him to defend himſelf againſt ſo many dangers as were ready to environ him; and this was, to call to his

Henry 3. for fear, retires to *Tours*.

aſſiſtance the King of *Navarre*; who had five or ſix thouſand men, old Souldiers, by whom he was well beloved. Yet he durſt not do it, for fear to be eſteemed a Favourer of Hereticks, or incur the blame of violating thoſe Edicts againſt the *Hugonots* he had ſo ſolemnly ſworn to in the Eſtates of *Blois*. He tryed therefore all ſorts of ways to appeaſe the reſentment of the Duke of *Mayenne*; offering him very advantagious Conditions. But what aſſurance, ſaid the *Leaguers*, can this Duke have, his Brothers being murthered in ſo perfidious a manner? So that he not hearkning to any Propoſition of Accommodation, *Henry* the third was conſtrained to turn his thoughts toward the King of *Navarre*.

He in vain endeavours to appeaſe the Duke of *Mayenne*.

He in the end calls the King of *Navarre*, & gives him *Saumur*.

This Prince above all things would have a paſſage over the River *Loire*; the City of *Saumur* was given to him, where he eſtabliſhed Governour *Pleſſis Mornay*, who fortified the Caſtle, and made it the head of the *Hugonot* Garriſons. Being afterwards from thence approached *Tours*, his old Captains kept him for long time in diſtruſt, and hindred him from going to ſee the King, whom they feared (they ſaid) leſt in a time wherein a Treaſon was ſo neceſſary for him, to draw him out of that Labyrinth wherein the Action of *Blois* had involved him, he ſhould buy his Abſolution at the price of the King of *Navarre*'s life.

The King perſwaded by his friends not to truſt him.

The Duke d'*Eſpernon*, who was returned to Court to ſerve his Maſter at his need, and the Marshall *d'Aumont*, would have engaged him to it, and given him their words: but his friends could not consent that he should expose himself to the Faith of a Prince, who as they believed, had not any. In truth their fears were just, and our *Henry* was without doubt possessed with them as well as they. However, after he had well considered that he acted now for the safety of *France*, for the service of the King, and to open to himself a way to defend that Crown appertained to him, he resolved to hazard all, and to resigne himself absolutely to the holy Guard of the soveraign Protector of Kings.

Yet he resolves to go, arrive what will:

The City of *Tours* is situated as it were in an Island, a little below the place where the River *Cher* mingles its streams with the *Loire*, having coasted that great River three or four Leagues. The King of *Navarre's* people would not that he should engage himself between these Rivers, but that the Conference should be held beyond the *Cher*. He almost alone was of opinion contrary to them all; nevertheless to content them, he was constrained to hold a Council on the Banks, and after to permit his Captains to pass first, as if to sound the Ford. He passed after them, and arrived at *Plessis les Tours*, about three a Clock in the Afternoon, in a War-like Habit, all dirty, ready to be covered with his Cuirass, himself onely having a Cloak, all his people being in their Doublets, and ready to give on their Arms, that he might shew he was not

to which purpose he passes the River *Cher*.

not come to compoſe his Court, but to ſerve him well.

His interview with the King at Tours.

He went to meet the King, who heard Veſpers at the Minimes. The crowd of the people was ſo great, that they were a long time before they could joyn. Our *Henry* being within three paces of the King, caſt himſelf at his feet, endeavouring to kiſs them; but the King would not permit him, but lifting him up embraced him with great tenderneſs; they reiterated their embraces three or four times, the King naming him his Thrice-dear Brother, and he calling him his Lord. There were now heard eccho the joyful Cries of *Vive le Roy*, which had for a long time been ſilent; as if the preſence of our *Henry* had given a new birth to the peoples affections, which ſeemed extinct for *Henry* the third.

He repaſſes the River and lies in the Fauxbourg;

but on the morrow viſits the King alone.

After the two Kings had for ſome time entertained each other, our *Henry* paſſed the River, and went to lodge at the Suburb of St. *Simphorien*: for he had been obliged to promiſe thus much to the old *Hugonots*, who believed ſnares and traps every where laid for him. But he who was pricked forward by other Motives, and who was endowed with that generous Principle, “That we ought not be too ſparing of our Lives when there is ſomething to be gained which ought to be more precious then Life it ſelf to a great Courage,” departed the next morning at ſix of the Clock, without advertizing his people; and attended onely by one Page, paſſing the

Bridge,

Part I. Bridge, went to give a viſit to the King. They entertained one another a long time in two or three Conferences; in which our *Henry* gave great marks of his Capacity and Judgement. Their Reſolution in ſum was to raiſe a puiſſant Army to aſſault *Paris*, which was the principal head of the *Hydra*, and gave motion to all the reſt: a thing eaſie for them to do, becauſe the King expected great Levies from towards the *Switzers*, whither he had ſent *Sancy* for that purpoſe; adding, that the deſigne of the ſiege being publiſhed, it would infallibly draw a great number of Souldiers and Adventurers, out of hopes of ſo rich a pillage.

They reſolve to beſiege *Paris*.

The two Kings having paſſed two days together, he of *Navarre* went to *Chinon*, to cauſe the reſt of his Troops to advance, who hitherto had refuſed to mingle themſelves among the Catholicks.

Duke of *Mayenne* wants little to ſurprize King *Hen.* 3 at *Tours*.

During his abſence, the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had taken the Field, fell upon the Suburbs of *Tours*, thinking to ſurprize the City, and the King within it, by means of ſome intelligence. The Combat was very bloody, and the Dukes deſigne wanted little of taking effect; but after the firſt endeavours, having loſt the hopes to compaſs it, he eaſily retired.

Afterwards the Kings Troops being wonderfully increaſed, they marched conjoyntly, he and the King of *Navarre* towards *Orleans*; took all the little places thereabouts, and from thence deſcended into *Beauce*, and drew to-

together all of a ſuddain towards *Paris*. All the Poſts round about it, as *Poiſſy*, *Eſtampes*, and *Meulan*, were either forced, or obtained Capitulation: "in which they deſired no o-"ther ſecurity then the word of the King of "*Navarre*; to which they truſted more then "to all the Writings of *Hen.* 3. So great a "profeſſion made he of keeping his word, even "to the prejudice of his intereſts.

Great and profitable Reflections made on the different Conducts of *Hen.* 3. and the King of *Navarre*.

Let us conſider a little the different Eſtate to which theſe two Kings were reduced by their different conduct. "The One, for ha-"ving often broken his Faith, was abandoned "by his Subjects, and his greateſt Oaths found "no belief amongſt them: and the Other, for "having always exactly kept it, was followed "even by his greateſt Enemies: in all occaſi-"ons he gave marks of his Valour and Experi-"ence in point of War; but above all, of his "Prudence, and of thoſe Noble Inclinations "he had to good, and to oblige all the world. "He was always ſeen in the moſt dangerous "places, to accelerate Labours, animate his "Souldiers, ſuſtain them in Sallies, comfort "the wounded, and cauſe Money to be diſtri-"buted amongſt them. He obſerved all, in-"quired into all, and would himſelf with the "Marſhal of the Camp, order the Lodgings "of his Souldiers. He obſerved ſtrictly what "was done in the Army of *Henry* 3. where "though he often found faults, he concealed "them, out of fear to offend thoſe who had "committed them, by diſcovering their igno-"rance;

“[illegible] and when he believed himſelf oblig'd to take notice of them, he did it with ſo much Circumſpection, that they could not find any reaſon to take it in ill part. He was never niggardly of giving praiſes due to Noble Actions, nor of Careſſes and generous Deport to thoſe came near him: he entertained himſelf with them when he had time to do it, or at leaſt ſo obliged them with ſome good words, that they ſtill went away ſatisfied. He feared not at all to make himſelf familiar, becauſe he was aſſured that the more men knew him, the more they would eſteem him. In fine, the conduct of this Prince was ſuch, that there was no heart he gained not, nor no friend he had who would not willingly have become his Martyr.

Paris beſieged.

Paris was already beſieged; the King lodged at St. *Cloud*, and our *Henry* at *Meudon*, keeping with his Troops all that is between *Vaugirard* to the Bridge of *Charenton*. *Sancy* was already arrived with his Levies of *Swiſſes*; and they laboured with Orders to give a general Aſſault, to the end they might gain the Suburbs beneath the River. The Duke of *Mayenne*, who was in the City with his Troops expecting thoſe Supplies the Duke of *Nemours* was to bring, was in great apprehenſions that he ſhould not be able to ſuſtain the furious ſhook was preparing; when a young *Jacobin* of the Convent of *Paris*, named *James Clement*, ſpurred on by a Reſolution as deviliſh and de-

King *Hen.* 3. killed by a *Jacobin.*

teſtable and baſe determination, ſmote King Henry the third with a blow of a knife in the Belly; of which he died the ſame night. If the frantick Monk had not been ſlain upon the place by the Kings Guards, many things might have been known, which are now concealed.

Paris beſieged.

Our *Henry* being advertiſed late in the Evening of this mournful Accident, and of the danger in which the King was, came to his Lodging, accompanied onely by five and twenty or thirty Gentlemen; and being arrived a little before he expired, he fell on his knees to kiſs his hands, and received his laſt Embraces.

Our *Henry* comes to viſit him dying.

The King named him many times his Good Brother, and Legitimate Succeſſour; recommended the Kingdome to him; exhorted the Lords there preſent to acknowledge him, and not to diſunite. In fine, after having conjured him to embrace the Catholick Religion, he gave up the Ghoſt; leaving all his Army in an aſtoniſhment and confuſion which cannot be expreſſed; and all the Chiefs and Captains in Irreſolutions and different Agitations, according to their Humours, Fancies or Intereſts.

What the King ſaid to him, and thoſe preſent.

The

The Second Part
OF THE
LIFE
OF
Henry the *Great.*

Containing what he did from the day he came to the Crown of *France*, until the Peace which was made in the year 1598. by the Treaty at *Vervin.*

1589

Change cauſed by the Death of *Hen.* 3.

THE Death of *Henry* the third cauſed an entire change in the face of affairs. *Paris*, the *League*, and the Duke of *Mayenne*, were tranſported from a profound Sadneſs, to a furious Joy; and the Servants of the Defunct King, from a Pregnant Hope to ſee him Revenged, to an extreme Deſolation.

This Prince, who had been the object of the peoples hatred, being now no more, it ſeemed that that hatred ſhould ceaſe, and by conſe-

Part II.

conſequence the heat of the League relent: but on the contrary, not only all thoſe who compoſed that faction, but likewiſe many others who had held it for a Crime to League themſelves againſt *Henry* the third, their *Catholick* and Legitimate King, believed themſelves in Conſcience Obliged to oppoſe themſelves againſt our *Henry*, at leaſt till ſuch time as he ſhould return into the boſome of the true Church: a qualification they believed abſolutely neceſſary for that him ſhould ſucceed *Charlemagne* or *S. Lewis*. So that if the League loſt that heat which hatred gave it, it gained one much more ſpecious, from a Zeal to Religion; and had likewiſe a moſt plauſible pretext not to lay down Arms till *Henry* ſhould Profeſs the Religion of his Anceſtors.

Problem, if *Hen.* 3. died in a time favourable to *Hen.* 4. or not.

It was very difficult to judge, whether the point of time wherein this unhappy Parricide arrived, were good or ill for him: for on one ſide it ſeemed that Providence had not drawn him from the utmoſt parts of the Kingdom, where he was like a baniſhed man, and led him by the hand to the faireſt Theatre in France, but only to make known his goodneſs and Vertue, and put him in an Eſtate to gain that Succeſſion, to which, had he been abſent, he had never been called. But on the other ſide, when the multitude of his Puiſſant enemies, which armed themſelves againſt him, are conſidered, the ſmall Treaſure, and few Forces he had, the Obſtacle of his Religion, and a thouſand other difficulties, it could not be certainly judged, whether the Crown was ordained for him to enjoy, or fallen upon his head to cruſh him in Pieces: and there might be reaſon to ſay, that if this Conjuncture Elevated him, it was upon a Throne trembling, and erected on the brink of Precipices.

Henry 4. holds many Councels.

Whilſt *Henry* the third was in his Agony, our *Henry* held many Tumultuary Councels in the ſame lodgings, with thoſe whom he Eſteemed his moſt faithful Servants. So ſoon as he underſtood he was expired, he retired to his quarter at *Meudon*, and attired himſelf in the mourning Purple: he was preſently followed by a great quantity of Noblemen, who accompanied him as well for Curioſity as affection. The *Hugonots* with thoſe Troops which he had led, preſently ſwore Allegiance to him: but this number was very ſmall. Some of the Catholicks, as the Marſhal *d'Aumont*, *Givry*, and *Humieres*, ſwore Service to him until death, and that willingly, without deſiring any Condition of him; but the greateſt part of the others, being either eſtranged by inclination, or exaſperated by ſome diſcontent, or elſe believing now to have found the time to make their Services be bought, kept at a greater diſtance, and held ſeveral little Aſſemblies in divers places, where they formed a number of Fantaſtick deſigns.

Some Catholicks acknowledge him, but moſt refuſe.

Each of theſe propoſed to make themſelves

Some deſign to make

ſelves Sovereigns of ſome City, or ſome Province, as the Governours had done in the decadence of the houſe of *Charlemagne*. The Marſhal of *Byron* among others, would have had the County of *Perigord*; and *Sancy*, not to reject him, ſpoke to the King. This Propoſition was very dangerous; for if he denied it, he incenſed him; and if he accorded to his demand, he opened the way to all others to make the like, and ſo the Kingdome would be rent in Peices. It was only his great ſpirit and underſtanding, which could walk ſafely in ſo dangerous a path. he therefore charged *Sancy* to aſſure him on his part of his affection, of which he would willingly in time and place give him all the marks a good Subject could expect from his Soveraign; but at the ſame time, he furniſhed him with ſo many puiſſant reaſons wherefore he could not accord to what he deſired, that *Sancy* being himſelf firſt perſwaded, found it not difficult to work the ſame effect on the ſpirit of *Byron*; whom he obliged not only to renounce that pretence, but likewiſe to proteſt that he would never ſuffer any peice of the Eſtate to be diſmembred, in favour of whomſoever.

themſelves Sovereigns

The Marſhal of Byron among others; but the King made him forgo his deſire.

We may without doubt conclude, that the great *Henry* did reaſon puiſſantly; and that he explained his reaſons in the beſt manner, ſince he could in occaſions ſo important, perſwade ſuch able Spirits againſt their proper intereſts.

Byron

Part II.

Byron and *Sancy* aſſure the Catholick *Swiſſes* to the Kings Service.

Byron being thus gained, went with *Sancy* to aſſure themſelves of thoſe *Swiſſes* which *Sancy* had brought to the deceaſed King, but who being of the *Catholick Cantons*, made ſome difficulty to bear Arms for a *Hugonot* Prince, and that without new order from their Superiour. As for the *French* Troops of the Defunct King, it was not ſo eaſie to gain them. The Lords who Commanded them, or who had their Chiefs under their dependance, had every one divers deſigns; one would have one thing, and the other another, according to their ſeveral intereſts or Capricchio's.

What was the diſpoſition of the Princes of the blood towards the King.

There were ſix Princes of the houſe of *Bourbon*, to wit, the old Cardinal of *Vendoſme*, the Count of *Soiſſons*, the Prince of *Conti*, the Duke of *Montpenſier*, and the Prince of *Dombes* his Son; which in ſtead of being his firmeſt Prop, gave him no little inquietude; becauſe there was none of them which had not his particular pretence; which proved to him a continual Obſtacle.

Many Lords in Camp and Court ill intended.

Many of the Lords which were in the Army were not very well intentionated; particularly *Henry* Grand Prior of *France*, Natural Son to *Charles* the ninth, (after Count of *Auvergne* and Duke of *Angouleſme*) the Duke of *Eſpernon* and *Termes Bellegarde*; who out of the fear they had formerly had, leſt he ſhould deprive them of the favour of their Maſter, had oppoſed him in divers Rencounters. For the Courtiers, as *Francis d'O*, and *Mayne* his brother, [illegible] and many others), they knowing that our *Henry* deteſted their Villanous Debaucheries, and that he would not prove a perſon of ſo ill management, as to laviſh out his Revenues to ſupply their Luxury, had no great inclination for him. Nevertheleſs, hoping to find things better, they reſolved to declare in his favour, but with ſuch Conditions as ſhould reſtrain and bridle him, and in ſome manner oblige him to depend on them.

For this purpoſe there met an Aſſembly of ſome Noblemen, at *d'O's* Palace (a man Voluptuous, Prodigal, and by conſequence not very ſcrupulous, but who at preſent made Conſcience a Cloak to render himſelf neceſſary) who there reſolved not to acknowledge him, till he were a Catholick. *Francis d'O* accompanied with ſome Noblemen, had the confidence to carry to the King the Reſolutions of this Aſſembly, and added a ſtudied diſcourſe, to perſwade him to return to the Catholick Religion; but the King, who had already paſt over his greateſt fears, made them an anſwer ſo mixt with ſweetneſs and gravity, with ſpirit and reſervedneſs, that Couragiouſly repulſing them, without too ſeverely taunting them, he teſtified to them that he deſired to conſerve them his, but that after all he reſented not much the loſs of them.

Aſſembly of Noblemen at *d'O's*, who would have the King converted.

d'O carrys him word of it.

The King anſwers them handſomely and couragiouſly.

Some time after, the Nobility, after divers little Aſſemblies, held a great one, with *Francis de Luxembourg* Duke of *Piney*. There many

Another greater Aſſembly reſolved to acknow-

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] That they would [illegible] [illegible] upon theſe Conditions: 1. [illegible] he would cauſe himſelf to be inſtructed, for they preſuppoſed converſion muſt neceſſarily follow inſtruction. 2. That he ſhould not permit the exerciſe of any but the Catholick Religion. 3. That he ſhould neither give charge nor employment to the Hugonots. 4. That he ſhould permit the Aſſembly to depute Agents to the Pope, to let him underſtand and agree to the Cauſes which obliged the Nobility to remain in the ſervice of a Prince ſeparated from the Roman Church.

The King had the knowledge of this reſolution, from the Duke of Piney; he thanked them for their zeal for the preſervation of the State, and the affection they had for his perſon, promiſing them, that he would ſooner loſe his life, then the remembrance of theſe good ſervices they had rendred him; but granting them eaſily all the points they demanded, only the ſecond excepted, inſtead of which he promiſed them to re-eſtabliſh the exerciſe of the Catholick Religion through all his Territories, and to reſtore the Eccleſiaſticks into the poſſeſſion of their Eſtates; and for this he cauſed a Declaration to be ſigned, which after all the Lords and Gentlemen [illegible]

[illegible] ledge him, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to be inſtructed.

The Duke of Piney carries their reſolution to the King; who agrees to it, and grants a Declaration touching the exerciſe of the Catholick Religion through all his Territories.

had ſigned it, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] with [illegible] [illegible] the Duke of Eſpernon and [illegible] de Vitry. This laſt, diſturbed as it was ſaid by a ſcruple of Conſcience, caſt himſelf into Paris, and gave himſelf for ſome time to the League; but firſt of all, he abandoned the Government of Dourdan, which the Defunct King had given him. "Such were "then the Maxims of perſons of true honour "in the Civil Wars, that in quitting one par-"ty, which ever it was, they quitted like-"wiſe thoſe places they held, and returned "them to thoſe had conferred them.

[illegible] Many ſign it with regret, and others refuſe, as Vitry, who becomes a Leaguer.

The Duke d' Eſpernon proteſting, that he would never be either *Spaniard* or *Leaguer*, but that his Conſcience would not permit him to ſtay with the King, demanded leave of him to retire to his Government. The King after having in vain endeavoured to retain him, gave him leave, with many Careſſes and praiſes: but ſo much was he in his heart troubled at this abandoning him, that it hath been believed he conſerved againſt him a ſecret reſentment ſo long as he lived.

And the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who retires.

The Duke of *Mayenne* was not a little troubled in *Paris*, what reſolution he ſhould take: he ſaw that all the *Pariſians*, even thoſe who had held of the party of the Defunct King, had fully reſolved to provide for the ſurety of Religion: But that however they had

The Duke of *Mayenne* troubled what party to take.

Part II.

would all have a King, contrary to ſome of the *Sixteen*, who imagined they might form a Republick, and turn *France* into *Cantons*, like to the *Swiſſes*; but thoſe were neither ſufficiently powerful in Number, Riches, or Capacity, to Conduct ſuch a deſign. So that the moſt part of his friends counſelled him to take the title of King: but when he went about to found this Gulfe, he found that this propoſition was neither agreeable to the people, nor yet to the King of *Spain*, from whom he received, and was to receive his Principal ſtay, and means of Subſiſtence.

TwoCounſels given him.

Hereupon two other Counſels were given him; the one, to accord willingly with the new King, who without doubt in the conjuncture wherein things were, would grant him moſt advantagious conditions: The other, that he ſhould by Declaration publiſh to the Catholicks of the Royal Army, that all reſentments remaining Extinct by the Death of *Henry* the third, he had no other intereſt then that of Religion: That that point being of Divine obligation, and regarding all good Chriſtians; he ſummoned and conjured them to joyn with him, to exhort the King of *Navarre* to return to the Church; upon which, they promiſed to acknowledge him immediately for King: but if that he refuſed to do it, they proteſted to Subſtitute in his place another Prince of the blood. This advice was the beſt. And indeed it was propoſed by *Jeannin* Preſident of the

Parliament of *Burgongne*, one of the wiſeſt and moſt Politick heads of his Councel, and who acted in his affairs without Sleights or Stratagems; but with great judgement, and ſingular Honeſty.

Part II.

He rejects them, and cauſes to be Proclaimed the old Cardinal of *Bourbon*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* equally rejected both theſe advices; and took a third, to wit, the calling the old Cardinal of *Bourbon* (who was at preſent detained priſoner by order of our *Henry*,) to be proclaimed King, ſtill reſerving to himſelf the quality of Lieutenant-General of the Crown. He publiſhed after ſeveral Declarations, one of which he ſent to the Parliament, the other to the Provinces and the Nobility, inviting them to endeavour to deliver their King, and defend their Religion.

The King tries in vain ſeveral Treaties with the Duke.

At the ſame time the King tried by divers Negotiations, and cauſed him to be exhorted rather to ſeek his advancement by his friendſhip, then by the troubles and miſeries of *France*. But to this the Duke anſwered, that he had engaged his Father in the Publick cauſe, and given Oath to King *Charles* the tenth, (for ſo they called the old Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was named *Charles*) to whom, according to the ſentiment of the League, the Crown appertained, as to the neareſt Kinſman of the Defunct. And in the mean time, he entertained Plots and Conſpiracies in the Royal Army; where his emiſſaries from day to day debauched many perſons, even of thoſe whom the King believed moſt aſſured. There were many Generous enough ſtood the temptations of Soldiers; but nothing was proof againſt the intrigues of the Ladies of *Paris*, who incited them nightly, and the Gentlemen and the Officers in the City, ſparing nothing to engage them.

The King knowing that they daily returned, ſome catch'd in theſe ſnares, and having juſt reaſon to fear that thoſe which returned, tempted by their Miſtreſſes, might bring back ſome pernitious deſign; and the Duke of *Nemours* being upon the advance with his Troops, to joyne with the Duke of *Mayenne*; the Duke of *Lorrain* being likewiſe to ſend his; having cauſe to doubt his retreat might be cut off on all ſides, found it convenient to diſcamp from before *Paris*.

He raiſes his League from *Paris*, and why.

But before he diſlodged, he writ to the Proteſtant Princes, to give them an account of what he did, and to aſſure them that nothing ſhould be capable to ſhake his Conſtancy, or ſeparate him from Chriſt; and he ſpoke at preſent according to his thoughts and Conſcience, not having any deſire to change: which yet the Miniſters of his Religion would not believe, but watched him ſo cloſe on this Subject, that they became importunate.

He writes to the Proteſtant Princes, to juſtifie himſelf.

It was certainly an unſpeakable trouble, which continually for three or four years he was forced to undergo; to hear on one ſide the exhortations of theſe people, and on the other, the moſt inſtant Remonſtrances of the *Catholicks*: for it was neceſſary he

His troubles for 4. years to content both Catholicks & *Hugonots*.

[illegible] with [illegible] hopes of seeing himself [illegible] instructed. How much prudence had he need of? how much patience? with how much judgement and policy must he manage such great differences? Certainly he could not do it without imploying all the powers of his Spirit and experience. "And he well knew how far it was necessary "for a Prince to have his Spirit happily ex"ercised, and to be well instructed how "to Negotiate, and Speak well, to be able "at his necessity to serve himself of his [illegible]. Without falsity he might well at "present praise those, who having had the "care of bringing him up, had formed him "in his youth to the Management of affairs, "to Treating with men, and to the gain"ing the affections of all the world.

He had need of infinite prudence, addreſs, & eloquence.

Those last devoirs he desired to render his Predeceſſor, served as a fair pretext for raising his Siege from before *Paris*. To put his body in a place where the resentment of the Duke of *Guises* creatures might not outrage it, he carried it to *Compeigne*, and laid it in the Abbey of *S. Cornille*, where he celebrated all the funebrous Ceremonies, as honourably as the confusion of the time would permit. Not able to assist himself, because of his Religion, he committed the care to *Bellegarde* and *Espernon*; the last of which accompanied him thither, and then retired [illegible] for it [illegible]

Hee carries the Corps of *Henry* the third to *S. cornille de Compeigne*.

blood There

Part II.

Three advices touching the place to which he ſhould retire.

There were three advices given, concerning the place to which he ought to retire, when he raiſed his ſiege from *Paris*. The firſt was, to repaſs the *Loire*, and abandon to the League all the Provinces on this ſide, becauſe he could difficultly maintain them. The ſecond, to re-advance along the *Marne*, and ſeizing thoſe Bridges and Cities, expect an aſſiſtance from the Proteſtant *Suiſſes* and *Germans* promiſed to come to him. And the third, to march down into *Normandy*, to aſſure himſelf of ſome Cities, whoſe Governours were not yet engaged in the League; to gather the mony received for Taxes; and to joyne with the Aſſiſtance of *England*, which Queen *Elizabeth* had promiſed him, and which could not be long abſent.

1590. He follows the laſt, which was to march into *Normandy*.

He concluded on the laſt of theſe advices: and ſo many of the Nobles who accompanied him, deſiring ſome time to go and refreſh themſelves, he gave them leave. He ſent a part of his Troops into *Picardie*, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Longueville*; another into *Campaigne*, under that of Marſhal d'*Aumont*; and with three thouſand *French* foot, two Regiments of *Suiſſes*, and twelve hundred horſe only, which he kept with him, he deſcended into *Normandy*.

Rolet brings him the Keyes of *Pont d'Arche*; and *Chattes* of *Diepe*.

The Duke of *Montpenſier*, who was Governour there, came to joyne him with two hundred Gentlemen, and fifteen hundred Foot. *Rolet* Governour of *Pont d'Arche*, a man of Courage and Spirit, brought him the Keys of the place; demanding no other recompence but the honour to serve him. *Emar de Chattes*, a Commander of *Malta*, did the same with those of *Diepe*. After which the King approached *Rouen*, where he believed to have some intelligence.

He would besiege *Rouen*: but the Duke of *Mayenne* coming to its ſuccour, drives him to *Diepe*, and invests him.

This Enterprize put him in extream dangers, but in revenge, gave him a fair occaſion to acquiſt Glory, in retiring himſelf from ſo great a peril. See how it paſſed.

The Duke of *Mayenne* came to the ſuccour of *Rouen* with all his forces, and paſſed the River at *Vernon*. The King much aſtoniſhed, retires to *Diepe*, and ſends to the Duke of *Longueville* and *d'Aumont*, to return to him with diligence with their forces. The Duke in the mean time takes all the little places about *Diepe*, to inviron and inveſt himſelf within. In effect, he ſhuts him up ſo cloſe, that if he had not amuſed himſelf by an untimely motion to go to *Bins* in *Hainault* to confer with the Duke of *Parma*, he had in that diſorder diſſipated the greateſt part of his little Army. He had already cauſed a report to be ſpread through *France*; and had writ with aſſurance to all ſtrange Princes, That he held the King of *Navarre* (ſo he called him) ſhut up in a little corner, from whence he could not get, but either by yeilding himſelf to him, or leaping into the Sea. The danger appeared ſo eminent, even to his moſt faithful ſervants,

The Duke reports he cannot eſcape him.

The Parliament at Tours counsel him to associate the Cardinal of Bourbon in the Royalty.

Others counsel him to retire to England.

He derides both one and t'other.

Part. He [illegible] the Parliament [illegible] parts to him [illegible] fully [illegible] they saw [illegible] [illegible] him and the Cardinal de Bourbon [illegible] should in the Royalty, giving to One the conduct of Civil Affairs, and the Other of Martial. There were likewise the greatest part of the Captains of his Army of opinion, that leaving his Forces on shore, well intrenched in their posts, he should as soon as possible embarque for England or for Rochel; for fear lest if he should longer delay it, he might be shut up by Sea as well as by Land. To the Proposition of the Parliament, he made answer, That he had taken such good order, that the intrigues of the Duke of Mayenne could not deliver the Cardinal of Bourbon, as they apprehended; and the Marshal of Biron so stoutly opposed those who counselled him to embarque, that they desisted.

The Duke of *Mayenne* besieges *Diepe.*

Battail of *Arques.*

It appeared soon after by the proofs, that the Forces of the League, which were thrice as great as his, were not to be feared in proportion to their number; and that the more Commanders they had, the less their power was to be doubted. The King was lodged at the Castle *d'Arques*, which is seated on a little Hill, to stop the passage of the Valley which goes to *Diepe*. The Duke had formed a Designe to take this Post by Sea, by four or five Reprises, and on divers days he essayed to assault the Suburbs of *Polet*, and four or five times was driven back. Our *Henry* daily doing wonders, and expoſing himſelf ſo much that once he thought he ſhould have been ſurpriſed and encompaſſed by the Enemies. Finally the Duke having loſt eleven days time, and a thouſand or twelve hundred men, raiſed the Siege, and retired into Picardy.

It was believed, that he paſſed into this Province upon a fear, leſt the *Picards*, a free and honeſt people, but very ſimple, ſhould permit themſelves to be ſurprized by the Artifices of the Agents of *Spain*, who would engage them to caſt themſelves under the protection of the King their Maſter.

It was obſerved likewiſe, that that which hindred the ſucceſs of his enterprize at *Diepe*, and which kept him two or three days without enterprizing any thing at the time he ought to have done it, was the jealouſie and contention between the Chiefs that accompanied him, particularly of the Marqueſs de *Pont à Mouſſon*, Son to the Duke of *Lorrain*, of the Duke of *Nemours*, and of Cavalier *d'Aumale*; for they, believing the taking of the King infallible, or at leaſt his flight aſſured, and diſpoſing already of the Kingdom as of their Conqueſt, regarded one another with an Eye of jealouſie, and each formed deſignes in his head to have the better part of it.

It was obſerved likewiſe, that in one of theſe Combats of *Diepe*, the Duke of *Mayenne*, having at preſent ſome advantage, had gained an entire Victory if he had advanced but a quarter of an hour quicker: but marching too ſlowly,

Paſt. He

The Duke raiſes the ſiege, retires into Picardy, and why.

What hindred the ſucceſs of his enterprize.

He knew not how to take his advantages.

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ſlowly, he let ſlip that opportunity he could never redeem: which made the King, who well obſerved his fault, ſay, *If he had not another malady, I ſhall be aſſured always to gain the Field.*

The cauſes for which the great body of the League proſpered not in their deſignes.

I have recounted theſe Particularities, becauſe they make known the defaults of that great Body of the League: and the true cauſes which hindred its progreſs, and reduced it to nothing, I finde three principal ones.

The diſtruſt between the *Spaniards* and Duke of *Mayenne*.

The firſt, was the diſtruſt which the Duke of *Mayenne* had of the *Spaniards*: for though he could not be without them, yet he could not but regard them as his ſecret Enemies; and they aſſiſted him not for love of himſelf, but out of the deſigne they had to profit themſelves out of the calamities of *France*. And therefore when they ſaw that he concurred not with them for their ends, and that he thought onely of his own advantage without theirs, they afforded him but feeble ſuccours; in ſuch manner, that they let him fall ſo low, that when they would themſelves have done it, they could not raiſe him.

The jealouſie among the Chiefs of the League.

The ſecond, was the jealouſie of the Chiefs, who never agreed among themſelves. They thought more of croſſing and cutting one another, then of weakning their common Enemy; and confounded themſelves in ſuch manner by their deluſions and partialities, that they were ever wanting in the greateſt Enterprizes: whereas in the party of the King, there was onely one Chief, to whom all was reported, and by whoſe Orders all paſſed.

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The third, was the heavineſs and dulneſs of the Duke of *Mayenne*, who at all times moved ſlowly. His Flatterers called this Gravity. This default proceeded principally from his nature, and was augmented not onely by the maſs of his Body, great and fat beyond all proportion, and which by conſequence required a great deal of nouriſhment, and much ſleep; but likewiſe from a coldneſs and numneſs, which a certain malady he had contracted at *Paris* a little after the death of *Henry* the third, had reduced to a habitude in his Body; of which, ſay ſome, he would very unhandſomely rejoyce.

The ſloth and negligence of the Duke of *Mayenne*

King *Henry* the fourth was not of the ſame temper; for though he very much loved feaſting, and to divert himſelf with his familiars when he had leiſure; nevertheleſs when he had Affairs of War, or any other nature, he never ſate at Table above a quarter of an hour, and never ſlept above two or three hours together; ſo that Pope *Sixtus* the fifth being well informed of his manner of living, and that of the Duke of *Mayenne*, confidently prognoſticated; “That the *Bearnois* (for ſo he called “him, as all the Leaguers did) could not fail “to have the better of it, ſince he lay no “longer time abed then the Duke of *Mayenne* “ſate at Table.”

Great activity and vigilance of *Henry* 4.

“Officers and Servants form themſelves af“ter the example of their Maſters; thoſe of “the

Officers & ſervants reſemble their maſters.

Part II. “ly the King was ready, heedful, vigilant; that “he executed his Commands himself, and “he commanded of his own mouth; who took care of “all, and gave him advice of all. On the contrary, those of the Duke were slow, negligent, idle; and who upon whatever “pressing occasion, would not lose any thing “of their Ease and Divertisements.

The sloth and negligence of the Duke of Mayenne

They are much astonished to understand him mar-

It seemed to me that, for the better understanding our History, it was necessary to observe these Circumstances, which are absolutely essential, and very instructive.

This History recounts onely the chief affairs

We have particularized about the end of our first Part, who were the Chiefs of the League, and how that they held all the best Cities and richest Provinces of the Realm. I should never end, should I recount all the Factions, Fights, Enterprizes and Changes which happened in every Province for five or six years time. We shall follow onely the gross of Affairs, and behold how the Providence of God, and the incomparable Vertue of our *Henry*, drew *France* out of its Labyrinth of Miseries, in such manner, that the State and Religion which should have been destroyed by an irrecoverable Way, were both the one and the other miraculously saved; and re-flourished with as much happiness and glory as ever.

He takes [illegible] the Fauxbourgs of S. Germains, &c.

The Parisians made believe the King was taken.

Though the Duke of *Mayenne* was retired from before *Dieppe*, yet the people were entirely perswaded that the King could not escape him; particularly the *Parisians*, whose the Dutchess of *Montpensier* made publish by Criers on purpose, which she caused to arrive from day to day; Now that he demanded to yield himself; Now that he was taken; and in fine, that he was conducting to *Paris*; insomuch that there were many Ladies who hired windows in the street of St. *Denis* to see him pass by.

They are much astonished to understand him marching towards them.

Whilst they amused themselves with those false Reports, they were much astonished to understand, that having received a Re-inforcement of four thousand English, he was now upon his march, and came directly to *Paris*. He had some Intelligence which promised him, that if he could gain the Suburbs, they would open him a way into the City. He assaulted therefore those of St. *Germain*, St. *Michael*, St. *Jaques*, St. *Marceau*, and St. *Victor*, and carried them at unawares: but he could not gain the Quarter of the University, as he hoped, because his Cannon was not brought in time. About eight a Clock in the morning, on *All-Saints-day*, he entred the Suburbs of St. *Germain*, where he found the people to have no aversion for him: for he saw them not affrighted, nor despairingly fleeing; but looking out of their windows to regard him, and saying, *Vive le Roy*. And he used his advantage with a great Moderation; he forbad all sorts of Violences or Plunders, and gave order that Divine Service should be continued, in such manner, that his people peaceably assisted at it with the Burgesses, whilst he having

He takes the Faubourgs of St. *Germain*, &c.

His moderation in this rencounter.

mounted the Steeple of St. *Germain*, attentively conſidered what was done in the City.

The Dukes of *Nemours* & *Mayenne* poſt thither. The King retires to *Montlehery*.

That Evening the Duke of *Nemours* having poſted thither with the Cavalry, and the Duke of *Mayenne* following on the morrow after with his Infantry, the King retired to *Montlehery*; but before-hand he drew up his Army in Battalia in the ſight of *Paris*, and kept them four hours at their Arms, to make known to the *Pariſians* the weakneſs of their Chiefs.

He takes *Eſtampes*, *Vendoſm*, *le Mans*, & *Alenzon*.

Want of mony ſtops his progreſs.

After this, *Eſtampes*, *Vendoſme*, *le Mans*, and *Alenzon*, not able to ſuſtain his preſence and Arms, ſurrendred to him: and in the manner things went, and as the Chiefs of the League defended themſelves, he had without doubt re-conquered the whole Realm in leſs then fifteen months, if he had not wanted money: this onely default, retarded the courſe of his Proſperities. The Ranſoms impoſed on Cities reduced by force, all that he could borrow, and the money he could raiſe by Taxes, did not half ſuffice to keep his Troops in a Body.

In what manner he made his Troops ſubſiſt.

For this reaſon he was conſtrained for four or five years ſpace, to make War in an extraordinary manner. When his Troops had ſerved ſome months, and conſumed beſide their pay all they had foraged in their Quarters, he ſent them home, as well to refreſh them, as to preſerve their Country from the invaſions of the League. In like manner, when the voluntier-Gentlemen had ſpent that money they brought from other Houſes, he gave them leave to return, to endeavour to furniſh themſelves for another voyage; inviting them by his Example, to retrench the ſuperfluous expence of Cloths and Equipage; & otherwiſe treating them with ſo much Civility and Courteſie, that he never wanted them in the moſt preſſing occaſions; for they returned the ſooneſt poſſible, ſerving him, if we may ſo ſay, each his Quarter.

He reduces almoſt all *Normandy*, and beſiegeth *Dreux*.

In the mean time, he fell all of a ſuddain upon *Normandy*, and almoſt wholly reduced it; took the Cities of *Dompfort*, *Falaiſe*, *Liſieux*, *Bayeux*, *Honfleur*; this laſt by a very bloody Siege: after his return from thence, he took likewiſe *Meulan* on the *Seine*, ſeven leagues off *Paris*, and laid Siege before *Dreux*.

At the noiſe of theſe Conqueſts, the Duke of *Mayenne* was obliged in reputation, to come forth of *Paris*, to aſſemble his Troops, and to receive, contrary to his inclination, fifteen hundred Lanciers, and five hundred Carabines, from the Duke of *Parma* Governour of the Low-Countries: theſe forces were Commanded by the Count *d'Egmont*.

The Duke marches to ſuccour *Dreux*.

After this Duke had regained ſeveral little places which incommodated *Paris* and the Country adjacent, he paſſed the *Seine* o'er the Bridges of *Mantes*, to go ſuccour *Dreux*; imagining he might do it without hazarding any thing. The King, ſo ſoon as he had advice of his advance, raiſes his ſiege, but with an intent to fight him; and came to this effect

The King advances to fight him.

to

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Two reaſons oblige him to it.

Two things principally obliged him to that reſolution of giving him battail; the one, becauſe wanting money, he could not long keep his Troops in the body of an Army, and had he led them into *Normandy*, he ſhould unprofitably have ſpent all the revenue of that Province, which alone he valued above all others he held. The other, becauſe he perceived ſo great a rejoycing throughout all his Army, which ſeemed to leap for joy, when they were told they ſhould go to find out their enemy, demonſtrating by their outward appearance, that a day of fighting ſhould be unto them as a day of feaſting.

What cauſes engage the Duke of *Mayenne* to the Battail.

The Duke of *Mayenne* was not of opinion that he ought to engage his fortune and honour to the hazard of one day, eſpecially conſidering the valour of the Kings ſouldiers in compariſon of his; the great experience, and incomparable vertue of that Prince; and with all this, his great fortune, which had already gained ſo great an aſcendant over him, that he believed he could no better overcome him, then by avoyding encounters with him. But the reproaches of the *Pariſians*, the inſtances of the Legat, which the Pope had ſent to ſupport the intereſts of the League; the *Spaniſh Cabal*, which on which ſide ſoever fortune turned it ſelf, promiſed themſelves great advantages from this battail; and in fine, the ſhame to have loſt more then forty places [illegible] ſix Moneths, without having endea- Part III. voured to ſuccour any of thoſe, let himſelf [illegible] perforce to the relief of Dreux; and when he was ſo near it, the falſe advice he had, that the King retired towards the City of *Verneuil au Perche*, and the Bravadoes of the Count of *Egmont*, who boaſted himſelf capable with his Troops alone to defeat the Army of the King; engaged him with an extraordinary diligence to paſs the River of Eure, over the Bridge of *Ivry*.

To ſpeak truth, both the King and he were equally ſurpriſed: the King, to underſtand that he had ſo ſoon paſſed; and the Duke, to ſee that the King, whom he believed to have taken the way towards *Verneuil*, came directly towards him: but now though they would, they could neither withdraw; but of force muſt come to a battail, which happened on the fourteenth of *March*, neer the *Bourg* of *Ivry*.

Battail of *Ivry*, *March* 14.

The Hiſtories do at large declare the deſcription of the field of the battail; the order of both Armies, the Charges which the Battalions and Squadrons both on the one and the other ſide made, and the faults of the Chiefs of the League: We ſhall therefore ſpeak nothing, but what concerns the perſon of our Prince.

His rare intelligence, his wonderful genius, and his indefatigable activity in the Myſtery of War, were all admired. It was wondred how he knew how to give orders without perplex-

Wonderful intelligence of *Henry* the fourth.

I perplex-

perplexing his intellectuals, but with as little confuſion as if he had been in his Cloſet; How he could know ſo perfectly to range his Troops; and how, having obſerved the enemies deſign, he could in a quarter of an hour change the whole order of his Army: How during the fight, he could be every where, take notice of every thing, and himſelf give orders, as if he had had a hundred eyes, and as many armes: The noiſe, confuſion, duſt and ſmoak, augmenting rather then troubling his judgement and knowledge.

His prayers to God.

The Armies being ready to joyn, he lifted up his eyes to heaven; and joyning his hands, called God to witneſs of his intention, invoking his aſſiſtance, and praying that he would reduce the Rebels to an acknowledgement of him whom the order of Succeſſion had given them for Legitimate Sovereign: *My Lord,* ſaid he, *if it pleaſeth thee to diſpoſe otherwiſe, or that I ſhould be of the number of thoſe Kings whom thou dedicateſt to thy anger, deprive me of my life with my Crown; conſenting that I may this day fall a victim to thy holy will: let my death deliver* France *from the Calamities of War, and my blood be the laſt that ſhall be ſhed in this quarrel.*

His exhortation to his Souldiers.

Immediately after, he cauſed to be given him his Habiliment for his head, on the top of which he had a plume of three white feathers; and having put it on, before he pulled down his Viziere, he told his Squadrons, *My Companions, if you ſhould run my fortune,* *I ſhall likewiſe run yours; I will overcome or dye with you: let me only conjure you to keep your ranks, and if the heat of the Combat make you quit them, think as ſoon of rallying; it will be the gain of the Battail: you may do it between thoſe three trees which you ſee there on high, on your right hand* (they were three Pear-trees) *and if you loſe your Enſigns, Cornets, or Banners, loſe not the ſight of my white Feather, which you ſhall always find in the Road to Honor and Victory.*

The battail won by the King.

The Deciſion of the Battail having been a long time uncertain, was in the end favourable to him. The Principal glory being due to himſelf alone, ſo much the more, becauſe he Charged moſt impetuouſly on that formidable body commanded by the Count of *Egmont*, and that having entred that foreſt of Lances with his ſword in his hand, rendred them uſeleſs, and conſtrained them to come to their ſhort Arms; at which his had a great advantage, becauſe the *French* are more agile and active then the *Flemings*; ſo that in leſs then a quarter of an hour, he pierced them, diſſipated them, and put them to rout; the cauſe of the entire gain of the Battail.

Great loſs of the Leaguers.

Of ſixteen thouſand men which the Duke had, there were ſcarce four thouſand ſaved. There remained above a thouſand horſe on the place with the Count of *Egmont*, four hundred priſoners of Note, and all the Infantry; for the Lanſquenets were all cut in pieces.

They took all his Baggage, Cannon, Enſigns and Cornets; to wit, twenty Cornets of Cavalry, the white Cornet of the Duke, the Colonel of his *Reiſtres* or *German* horſe, the great Standard of Count *Egmont*, and ſixty Colours of foot.

The Duke of *Mayenne* eſcapes to *Mantes*, and thence to *Paris*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* behaved himſelf as valiantly as he ought, and many times endeavoured to make ſome rally; but in the end, for fear of being encompaſſed, he retired toward the Bridge of *Ivry*, and having paſſed it, cauſed it to be broken down, to ſtop thoſe purſued him; and ſo eſcaped to *Mantes*, and thence to *S. Denis*, and after to *Paris*. A part of the flyers took the ſame way with him, others took that of the Plain, and gained the City of *Chartres*.

The King too much expoſes his perſon, which *Byron* freely remonſtrates to him.

The King having engaged himſelf, during the defeat, among a Squadron of *Walloons*, was in great danger of his perſon; ſo that his Army for ſome time believed him dead: upon which the Marſhal of *Byron*, accuſtomed to ſpeak freely to him, and who had not at all fought, but had kept his quarter with a body of reſerve, to hinder the rallying of the enemies, could not refrain from telling him; *Ah Sir, this is not juſt; you have this day done what* Byron *ought to do, and he only what the King ought to have done.*

This Remonſtrance was approved by all thoſe that heard it; and the Principal Chiefs took the liberty to entreat the King not to expoſe any more his perſon; but to conſider,

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that God had not deſtined him to be a Muſquetier, but to be King of *France*: that all the armes of his ſubjects ought to fight for him; but that they would all become lame and benummed, ſhould they loſe their head which gave them motion.

His Clemency and Generoſity after the Victory.

His Valour this day out-ſhone that of the greateſt of his Chieftains; but beſides that, his Clemency, his Generoſity, and his Courteſie, added a wonderful Splendor to his fair actions: and the manner with which he uſed his victory, was a certain proof that he gained it by his Conduct rather then fortune.

He choſe rather to receive the Battalions of the *Swiſſes* on Compoſition, then to cut them in pieces, as he might have done: he reſtored them their Enſigns, and cauſed them to be reconducted into their Country, by his Commiſſaries; by which he gained the affection of five little Catholick Cantons.

He had nothing more in his heart, then to make his Subjects know, that he deſired to ſpare their blood, and that they had to do with a mild and merciful King, and not with a cruel and implacable enemy: he cauſed to be proclaimed in the rout, *Save the French, and let your blows fall on the ſtranger*. He took to mercy all thoſe which demanded quarter, and ſaved them as much as he could from the hands of the Souldiers fleſh'd in the ſlaughter. He treated the Priſoners, particularly the Gentlemen, not only with humanity, but likewiſe with courteſie; and he loaded with

His Acknowledgements and Juſtice.

honour, praiſes and thanks, all the Nobility which had fought for him; ſharing with them the glory of the day, and giving them embraces, as earneſts of thoſe recompences they might expect from him when he ſhould be in power.

A Noble Action he did.

I cannot forget one Action which he did, of wonderful goodneſs, and which was of wonderful efficacy to aſſure to him the hearts of his Officers and Gentlemen. Colonel Thiſche, or *Theadoric* of *Schomberg*, commanding ſome Troops of *Reiſters*, had been enforced the evening before the Battel, by the clamours of thoſe Brutes, to demand of him thoſe Muſters were due to them; and to repreſent to him, that upon leſs Conditions they would not fight. The *Suiſſes* and *Allemans* of that time, uſed often to act ſo; of which Hiſtories furniſh us with an hundred Examples. The King, much incenſed at ſuch a demand, anſwered him, *How, Colonel* Thiſche! *is this done like a Man of Honour, to demand money when you ought to receive Orders for the Battel?* The Colonel retired much confuſed, without replying any thing. On the morrow, the King, having arranged his Troops, remembred that he had ill treated him; and thereupon, preſſed forward by a motion which could finde no place but in a generous Soul, went to ſeek him, and told him, *Colonel, you ſee we are engaged in an occaſion which obliges us to no longer ſtay; but it is not juſt I ſhould take away the Honour of ſo brave a Gentleman as your ſelf: I de-*

clare therefore that I acknowledge you for an honest Man, and one incapable of committing any thing unworthy.

His Acknowledgement and Justice.

This ſaid, he cordially embraced him; and the Colonel having the tears ſtanding in his Eyes, with tenderneſs anſwered him, *Ah, Sir, by reſtoring me that Honour you had deprived me of, you deprive me of my Life; for I ſhould be unworthy if I ſhould not this day lay it down for your ſervice; if I had a thouſand, I would willingly ſpend them all at your feet.* In ſhort, he was ſlain in this occaſion, as were many other brave Gentlemen.

A Noble Action he did.

Another worthy Action.

I will yet recount another worthy Action, which may admirably demonſtrate how our *Henry* ſpared neither Civilities nor Careſſes to Gentlemen who ſerved him well: At night, when he ſupt at the Caſtle of *Roſny*, being advertized that the Marſhal *d' Aumont* came to render him an account of what he had done, he went forth to meet him; and having ſtraitly embraced him, carried him in to ſupper, and made him ſit at the Table, with theſe obliging words, *That there was great reaſon he ſhould be at the feaſt, ſince he had ſo well ſerved at his Nuptials.*

What hindred the King to go directly to *Paris.*

The terrour was ſo great in *Paris* after the loſs of this Battel, that if the King had gone directly thither, there could no doubt have been made but they had received him without much difficulty. Some ſaid, that it was the Marſhal of *Byron* who diverted him; fearing leſt afterwards, not having more need of him, he ſhould conſider him leſs. Others thought that it was the *Hugonot* Miniſters of his Council had diſſwaded him, becauſe they feared leſt he ſhould accommodate with the *Pariſians* for Religion; and therefore they counſelled him rather to gain this great City by famine; which the Marquiſs *d'O*, at preſent Superintendant, preſſed very ſtrongly; to the end the King taking it by this way, might treat it as a conquered City, draw thence great Treaſuries, ſeize the Rents of the *Hoſtel de Ville*, making Bankrupt of the Burgeſſes for the Debts of the King, which were very great.

The widow of *Montpenſier* amuſes the people.

The Widow of *Montpenſier*, one of the principal Organs of the League, who was accuſtomed to amuſe the people with falſe News, could not plaiſter the miſchief of the loſs of this Battel, but by ſaying, *That truely the Duke had loſt it, but that the* Bearnois *was dead.* The Burgeſſes believed it for five or ſix days; and this was enough to reſtrain their firſt fears, and to gain time to give Orders, and ſend to levy Succours on all ſides.

The King departs from *Mantes*, takes ſome Cities, and goes to block up *Paris*.

After the Battel, the King, having ſtayed ſome days at *Mantes* by reaſon of the great Rains, re-took the Field, takes *Dagni*, *Brobins*, *Motereau* and *Melun*, without permitting himſelf to be amuſed by the Propoſitions of Truce made him by *Villeroy*. After having in his paſſage attempted the City of *Sens* with little ſucceſs, he came to block up *Paris*, and took all the Poſts and Caſtles about it, where he lodged Gariſons of Horſe to beat the Champaigne.

The Duke of *Mayenne* was not within *Paris*. He had left the Duke of *Nemours* for Governour, and was gone to meet the Duke of *Parma* at *Condé* on the *Escaut*, to demand of him ſome aſſiſtance in his neceſſity. He was in a great trouble, and in a juſt fear to looſe *Paris*, whether he relieved it, or whether he permitted it to be taken; and that the rather, becauſe that he ſaw well that if he brought in the *Spaniſh* Aſſiſtance, the *Sixteen* would ſerve themſelves of that advantage again to raiſe up themſelves, and poſſibly would out of deſpite to him, engage *Paris* under the *Spaniſh* Yoke. For theſe *Sixteen* loved him not at all, becauſe he had broken up their Council of Forty, which bridled his Authority; and that to ſhew himſelf abſolutely averſe to a Republican Government, which they would have introduced, he had created another Council, a Keeper of the Seals, and four Secretaries of State, with which he governed Affairs, without calling them, except when he had need of money.

The Duke of *Mayenne* was gone to meet the Duke of *Parma*, and had left the Duke of *Nemours* at *Paris*.

Beſides this trouble, there happened to him another ſubject of inquietude, which was the deceaſe of the old Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who died at *Fontenay*, where he was guarded by the Lord *de la Boulaye*. He had reaſon to fear, leſt his death ſhould give occaſion to the *Spaniards* and to the *Sixteen* to demand the Creation of a King; and that they ſhould preſs him ſo much, that in the neceſſity he had of their aid, he ſhould be conſtrained to ſuffer it. In effect,

The death of the old Cardinal of *Bourbon* troubles him.

Paris has

The *Spaniards* & the *Sixteen* preſs him to make a King: he aſſignes the Eſtates to *Paris.*

effect; this was the firſt Condition which the Agents of *Spain* propoſed in the Treaty they held with him to give him Aſſiſtance: and he out of fear to diſpleaſe them, teſtified that he ardently wiſhed the Convocation of the Eſtates to elect a King; and transferred the place of their aſſembly from the City of *Melun*, where he had aſſigned it, to that of *Paris*; that is to ſay, from a City which he had loſt, to one which was beſieged. In the mean time he employed his Friends with the Parliament and at the *Hoſtel de Ville*, to keep to himſelf the quality of Lord-General: which being continued to him, he demonſtrated that he feared nothing ſo much as the Eſtates, and endeavoured by all his power to hinder them; that which, to ſpeak truth, compleated the ruine of this party.

He keeps to himſelf the Title of Lieutenant-General.

Paris being blocked up, the Legat and the *Sixteen* forgot nothing to encourage their people. They conſulted their faculty of Theologie, and obtained what Reſolutions they pleaſed againſt him they named the *Bearnois*. They cauſed many, both general and particular, Proceſſions to be made; and the Officers received their Oath of Fidelity to the *Holy Union*: ſo it was they called the *League*.

At the ſame time the Duke of *Nemours* took great Order to put the City in a poſture of Defence; and the Burgeſſes being for the moſt part perſwaded, that if the King took it, he would eſtabliſh Preaching, and aboliſh the Maſs; were poſſeſſed with an extream ardour,

Nemours takes order for the defence of *Paris.*

and could not furniſh all that was demanded, either of their Part of Labour, towards its Fortification.

There is no finer paſſage in the Hiſtories of that time, then the Relation of this Siege, the Orders which *Nemours* gave in the City, the Gariſons he eſtabliſhed in divers quarters, the Sallies he made for the firſt month, the Inventions he uſed to animate the people, the Endeavours and divers Practices of the Kings Friends to bring him into the City, the Negotiations held in one part and the other to eſſay a Treaty of Accommodation; how Proviſions diminiſhed; how they ſought means to make them laſt, how notwithſtanding all their œconomy; the Famine was extream; and how in the end, that great City being within three or four days of utter periſhing, was delivered by the Duke of *Parma*.

Number of the inhabitants of *Paris*.

I ſhall obſerve onely ſome Particularities very memorable. There were in *Paris* when it was blocked up, onely two hundred thouſand perſons, and there were of them near thirty thouſand of the Country-people thereabouts, who had there refuged themſelves; and there were retired near one hundred thouſand of the natural Inhabitants: ſo that in thoſe times there were no more then three hundred thouſand Souls in *Paris*; whereas it is now believed, that there are twice as many.

It proves not ſo eaſie to take it by famine.

The King was made hope, that ſo ſoon as the *Pariſians* had for ſeven or eight days ſeen

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the Granaries and Markets without Bread, the Butcheries without Meat, the Ports without Corn, Wine, and other Commodities with which the River is accuſtomed to be covered, they would go take their Chiefs by the throat, and conſtrain them to treat with them: or at leaſt if a ſeditious humour did not ſo ſoon prompt them to it, Famine would force them in fifteen days. In effect, they had but five weeks Victuals, but they managed them carefully; and thoſe who had ſaid that, knew not well the people of *Paris*, for they are wonderfully patient: nor is there any extremity they are not capable to ſuffer, provided they have thoſe know how to conduct them; and principally when they act for their Religion. It cannot be read without aſtoniſhment, how blinde was the Obedience, and how conſtant the Union of that fierce and indocile people, for four whole months of horrible Loſſes and Miſeries. The Famine was ſo great, that the People eat even the Herbs that grew in the Ditches: Dogs, Cats, and Hides of Leather were Food; and ſome have reported, that the *Lanſquenets*, or Foot-ſouldiers, fed upon ſuch Children as they could entrap.

The *Hugonots* would have it taken by force, but the King will not.

The *Hugonots*, raviſhed with delight to hold that City blocked up which had done them ſo much miſchief, inſiſted ſtrongly in the Kings Council; and not onely cryed it there themſelves, but made it be cryed aloud among the Souldiers, That it ſhould be aſſaulted by lively force; and that in ſix hours it would ſo be-

become a deſolate thing. But the good and wiſe King took no heed to follow thoſe paſſionate counſels: he knew well, that they would take parts by force, that they might murder all, in revenge of the Maſſacres of St. *Bartholomew*. And moreover, he conſidered that "he ſhould lay deſolate a City; the ruine of "which, like a wound ſtruck in the heart, "might poſſibly prove mortal to all *France*: "That he ſhould in one day diſſipate the rich-"eſt, and almoſt the onely Treaſure of his E-"ſtate; and that no perſon would be benefi-"ted by it, but onely the ſimple Souldiery; "who, becoming inſolent by ſo rich a booty, "would either overwhelm themſelves in their "Delights, or as ſoon abandon him.

Uſeleſs mouths ſtarve *Paris*.

Thoſe who within had taken the care of the Politick part, had committed a great fault in not putting forth the poor, populary and uſeleſs mouths. The ſcarcity augmenting, they ſought too late means to remedy it; but not finding any, they deputed ſome to the King, to gain permiſſion of him to let a certain number depart; who, hoping for this grace, were already aſſembled near the Gate of St. *Victor*, and had taken leave of their Friends and Neighbours with thoſe Regrets which even rent aſunder the Hearts of the moſt inſenſible.

The King was ſo good and merciful, that he permitted himſelf eaſily to yeild to grant them his Favour: but thoſe of his Council oppoſed it ſo ſtrongly, that for fear to diſguſt

them,

Part II.

Great Clemency of the King, to let the miſerable people go forth.

lieutenant, he was at firſt conſtrained to ſend back thoſe miſerable People. His Clemency nevertheleſs could not for any long time ſuffer their violences; for having underſtood by many, who fearing death leſs then Famine, had leapt from the Walls, the pitiful eſtate of the City, and they having truely repreſented unto him what they had beheld of their horrible neceſſities, with the incredible obſtinacy of the Leaguers; his heart was in ſuch manner overburthened with grief, that the tears ſtart out of his eyes; and having a little turned himſelf away, to conceal that emotion, he caſt forth a great ſigh with theſe words: *O Lord, thou knoweſt who are the cauſes of this: but give me the means to ſave thoſe, whom the obſtinate malice of my enemies would make periſh.*

His generous words.

In vain did the moſt ſevere of his Council, and eſpecially the *Hugonots*, repreſent to him that theſe Rebels merited no favour; he reſolved to open a paſſage to the innocent. *I wonder not at all,* ſaid he, *if the Chiefs of the League, or if the Spaniards have ſo little compaſſion on theſe poor people; they are only Tyrants; but for my ſelf, who am their Father and their King, I cannot hear the recital of theſe calamities, without being touched to the bottome of my ſoul, or without ardently deſiring to remedy them. I cannot hinder thoſe whom the fury of the League poſſeſſes, from periſhing with it; but for thoſe who implore my clemency, and who are only guilty of the Crimes of others,*

I

I will ſtretch forth my armes to them. This ſaid, he commanded that they ſhould permit thoſe miſerable people to depart. There were ſome who crawled, and others were fain to be carried. There came out at this time more then four thouſand, who all with great and unanimous ſhouts, cryed out, *Long live the King*.

Part II. Great Clemency of the King, to let the miſerable people go forth.

After that day, ſince they knew it offended him not, the Captains that kept the Guards let daily great bands eſcape, and likewiſe took the boldneſs to ſend victuals and refreſhments to their friends, and to their antient hoſts, and particularly to the Ladies. “For *Paris* being the common Country of “the French, there are few people who love “it not, and who have not there ſome gage “of friendſhip, which forbids them from procuring its loſs and utter ruine.

Thoſe of the Army ſend victuals into *Paris*.

After the example of the Captains, the Souldiers licenſed themſelves to convey to them meat, bread, and barrels of wine over the walls, receiving in Exchange ſome rich goods at a vile price, and making themſelves brave at the expences of the Merchants: that which theſe were in ſome manner conſtrained to tolerate, becauſe the others had no money wherewith to pay them. This made *Paris* ſubſiſt near a month longer then it would have done: but it is almoſt impoſſible but this ſhould always happen in like occaſions, as hath been ſeen not long time ſince. God be pleaſed for ever hereafter to preſerve *France* from ſo great ills.

Which makes them ſubſiſt.

After all, the King knew certainly that that great City could not long ſubſiſt, and he deſired to gain abſolutely their hearts, to the end he might undermine the very foundations of the League. For this reaſon he combated their Obſtinacy with an exceſs of Indulgence. He gave Paſſe-ports to the Scholars, not able to refuſe them to their Parents who were with him; after, to the Ladies and to the Eccleſiaſticks; and in the end, to thoſe who had ſhewed themſelves his moſt cruel enemies.

The King takes all the Suburbs in one night.

In the mean time, to haſten a little the Chiefs of the League to come to a Capitulation, it was agreed in his Councel that he ſhould render himſelf maſter of the Suburbs. The evening of the 27. of *July*, he cauſed them all to be aſſaulted at once. They were forced in leſs then an hour, and all the gates blocked up; his Souldiers having firſt fortified their quarters, and thrown down the houſes neareſt the ditch.

By this laſt action he took the *Pariſians* by the throats, and preſſed them in ſuch ſort, that they could ſcarce breath: for which cauſe their Chiefs apprehending that neither their defences, exhortations, or fear of puniſhments would be longer capable to retain them, concluded after ten or twelve deliberations, to enter into conference with the King; not out of a cordial intention to treat with him, but only to ſpin out things to a length, that they might give time to the Duke of *Mayenne* to make an attempt to ſuccour them.

They received intelligence from that Duke twice every week, and each time he promised them that he would be with them with a puiſſant Army in five or ſix days. Having fed them with theſe hopes for five or ſix weeks, he advanced in the end to *Meaux*, where *Vitry* was Governour, and from thence gave them ſome greater hopes of relief: however, he was too weak to hazard it.

Part II. The Duke of *Mayenne* advances to *Meaux*, but dares not relieve *Paris*.

The Duke of *Parma*, who had order from *Spain* to go joyn with him, and not to ſpare any thing for the relief of *Paris*, came with great unwillingneſs. He feared leſt during his abſence the Council or Cabinet ſhould appoint a Succeſſour in his Government; and that he ſhould looſe more in the Low-Countries, then he ſhould gain in *France*: Notwithſtanding he received Commands ſo expreſs, that he was conſtrained to obey. He parted therefore from *Valencienne* on the ſixth of *Auguſt*, and arrived at *Meaux* on the two and twentieth. He brought along with him onely twelve thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſes; but Artillery and Ammunition, for an Army thrice as great; and fifteen hundred Waggons of Proviſions to refreſh *Paris*.

The Duke of *Parma* comes to joyn with him with an Army from the Low-countries.

He was without doubt the greateſt Captain amongſt ſtrangers of the Age he lived, for all Exploits which depend on profound Reaſon, and judicious Conduct: he had ſo well laid the Model of his Deſigne in his Head, ſo well taken his Meaſures by the exacteſt Mapps of the Country, and ſo well meditated on all

He had ſo well contrived all things, that he was aſſured to raiſe the ſiege of *Paris*.

Part II.

that could arrive him, and all that he could do; that he held himſelf aſſured of ſucceſs.

The King never believed he would quit the Low-Countries.

Thoſe who were about the King, had always made him believe, that this Duke would not leave the Low-Countries; and ſaid, That if he did either, that he could not raiſe ſo great a power as to dare engage in the heart of *France*; or that if he raiſed any great Army, he would not arrive time enough to deliver *Paris*. The King ſuffered himſelf to be a little carried away with theſe falſe Reaſons; but when he underſtood he marched in this manner, he began already to fear that which arrived; and the danger appeared ſo much more, becauſe he had leſs foreſeen it. In theſe Apprehenſions he was well content to renew the Negotiation with the Duke of *Mayenne*, who on his ſide feigned to deſire an Accommodation more then ever; to the end he might amuſe him, for fear he ſhould aſſault *Paris* by plain force; and to entertain the *Pariſians* with the pregnant hopes of their Delivery; for the Famine made them deſpair in ſuch manner, that it was no longer in his power, with all his inventions, to retain them from ſurrendry for more then five or ſix days at moſt.

He renews the Negotiation with the Duke of *Mayenne*, who feigns to entertain it, to amuſe him.

When the Duke of *Parma* was within two days Journey of *Meaux*, he cauſed it to be ſignified to the King, That the Duke of *Mayenne* could no longer treat but conjoyntly with him. At preſent the Council of the King was much aſtoniſhed, and in a great irreſolution, not knowing what to do. It was without doubt

The Kings Council much troubled.

doubt a great ſhame for the King, and a notable diminiſhing of the Reputation of his Arms, to raiſe a Siege which had endured four months; and it muſt needs be a moſt ſenſible diſpleaſure to this Prince, who was brave and glorious, to raiſe it on the Eve of the taking of that great City; the reduction of which had been a mortal wound to the League.

The King would take a place of battel, and not raiſe the ſiege.

He had therefore but one courſe to take, but which was without doubt very hazardous; nevertheleſs the King reſolved it: this was, to leave a part of his Troops in the Suburbs, and chuſe a place of Battel, where the reſt of the Army might make head againſt the Duke of *Parma*, and not raiſe the Siege. To this effect, the King, confirmed in it by the advice of *la Noue*, *Guitry*, and *Pleſſis Mornay*, left onely three thouſand men on the ſide of the Univerſity, and put the reſt of his Army in Battalia, in the Plain of *Bondy*, which was between *Paris* and the Duke of *Parma*.

Byron adviſes to raiſe the ſiege, and carries it.

But the Marſhal of *Byron*, diſannulling abſolutely that counſel, wrought ſo far, that it was reſolved to advance as far as *Chelles* with intention to give Battel. It was not known whether he was carried to this advice either out of jealouſie, becauſe he had not given the firſt counſel, or becauſe it ſeemed to him too dangerous to remain ſo near *Paris*, from whence there might ſally fifteen or ſixteen thouſand men on the day of battel to charge them behind. However it were, his Authority was ſo great among the Men of War, and it was ſo dangerous in this Conjuncture to contradict that hot ſpirit, that they were forced to believe him, and abſolutely raiſe the Siege to go encamp at *Chelles*.

The Duke of *Parma* takes *Lagny* in the ſight of the King, & relieves *Paris*.

Abundance of Victuals carried to *Paris*.

The Duke of *Parma* ſeeing that, and judging it not convenient to fight, retrenched himſelf readily in a Mariſh ſo well, that he feared not to be forced: he boaſted likewiſe that the King ſhould not in that Poſt know how to force him to diſcharge one Piſtol; and yet that he would take a City in his ſight, and open a paſſage on the Rivers to ſend Proviſions into *Paris*. In ſum, he executed punctually what he had ſaid. It was not in the power of the King to oblige him to fight; and he took *Lagny* on the *Marne*, whilſt he was not able to relieve it. Thus *Paris* was abſolutely deliver'd, receiving on the morrow a very great quantity of Boats, laden with all ſorts of Proviſions. Yet their Joy was not equal to their Comfort: for their too long Miſery had in ſuch manner weakned their Bodies, and ſuppreſt their Courages, that they were not capable of any ſentiments of rejoycing.

The Troops of the Duke of *Nemours* having regained heart by this refreſhment, ſallied dayly with the moſt couragious of the Burgeſſes, and cut off all Proviſions from the Kings Camp, in ſuch manner, that a little Scarcity being got amongſt them, Sickneſſes began to multiply; and the Gentlemen who had flocked thither out of the hopes of a Battel, began to grow impatient; which the King ſeeing, aſſembled held his Council to ſeek ſome remedy to theſe inconveniences. He found, that throughout his whole Army there were very ill diſpoſitions; and that he had better make a Retreat, then expoſe himſelf to greater Affronts; but being loth to quit the Enterprize of *Paris*, he tryed in paſſing to carry it by ſtorm on the Univerſity-ſides, between the Gates of St. *James* and St. *Marceau*: which having done in vain, he retired to *Senlis*, and thence to *Creil*. In the end, not able to do better, he took *Clermont* in *Beauvoiſis*, which incommodated *Senlis* and *Campeigne*. Afterwards he put a part of his Troops in the Cities about *Paris*, ſent another into the Provinces, to re-aſſure them in their Obedience; and kept onely with himſelf a flying Army.

The Army of the King conſtrained to ſeparate.

So ſoon as he was retired, the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mayenne* enlarged themſelves in the *Brie*. *Parma*, inſtantly ſolicited by the Leaguers, beſieged *Corbeil*: he thought to take it in four or five days, but he lay before it a whole month, through the Duke of *Mayenne*'s fault, who either out of neglect or jealouſie furniſhed him with Ammunition but by little and little. So that ſeeing his Army much diminiſhed, and the reſt to licentiate themſelves to all Diſorders, after the Example of the *French* Souldiers, he returned to *Flanders*, much diſcontented with the Conduct of the *French* Nation, “*whom he had found* (as he “ſaid) *inconſtant and volatile, full of Jealouſies and Diviſions; inſatiable and ingrate-*

Duke of *Parma* beſieges *Corbeil*, and takes it.

He returns to *Flanders*.

ful. His vexatious Melancholy ſure made him ſay ſo.

Corbeil regained by ſtorm.

Before his departure, he had the diſpleaſure to hear of the loſs of *Corbeil*, which had coſt him ſo much. *Givry*, Governour of *Brie* for the King, regained it in one night by ſtorm: and the League, whatever inſtances they made to him, could not oblige the Duke of *Parma* to ſtay in *France* till they had re-taken it. He left them onely eight thouſand Men of his, promiſing to return at the Spring with a greater Army, and counſelling them in the mean time to amuſe the King by Treaties of Peace until the next *Campagne*: a Counſel which the Duke of *Mayenne* was not wanting to follow; which kept many Cities to his party, were ready to abandon him.

The expedition of the Duke of *Parma* into *France*, retarded much the Affairs of the King, but advanced not at all thoſe of the Duke of *Mayenne*; on the contrary, it embroiled them, and begat thoſe diſpoſitions which in the end ruined them. For the Duke of *Parma* knowing the defaults of the Duke of *Mayenne*, repreſented to the Council of *Spain*, That he was very improper for the advancement of their intereſts, being both too weak, and having too little Authority to keep in Unity ſo great a Party; too jealous, too ſlow, and too idle to give order in all things; that therefore it was neceſſary that the King of *Spain* ſhould take care of the League, and become abſolute Maſter of it. That to this effect he ſhould

The Duke of *Parma* counſels the King of *Spain* to become chief Maſter of the League.

gain the Eccleſiaſticks, and the people of the great Cities; who having a great deſire to ſee the Eſtate of the Government changed, becauſe under the laſt Kings it had been very oppreſſive to the people, would be eaſily induced either to joyn the Cities together in form of *Cantons*, or make a King, whoſe power ſhould be ſo limited, that he could never weaken them, either by Taxes or by Arms, as the two laſt Kings had done.

In effect, the King of *Spain*, finding this way moſt commodious to his deſignes, and thinking by it to change *France* into a Republick, or make a King who ſhould onely ſubſiſt by him, conſidered no longer the Duke of *Mayenne* ſo much as he had done, and aſſiſted him but weakly, and endeavoured to create factions among the great Cities, and particularly that of the *Sixteen* at *Paris*, not ſparing any money: ſo that many believed he expended ſuch great ſums in this way, that had he laid them out in raiſing Armies, he had conquered a good part of the Realm.

The King of *Spain* no longer conſiders the Duke of *Mayenne*, but thinks to render himſelf Maſter of the great Cities by factions.

Now our *Henry* conſidering his deſignes, laboured on his part to fruſtrate them. And firſt, as to the Duke of *Mayenne*, he flattered him with Kindneſſes and many good Treatments; which he did for two ends; to wit, to eſſay to gain him, and likewiſe to render him more ſuſpected to the *Spaniards*. To the ſame effect he endeavoured to augment in him the diſguſt he already had for that Nation; and withal, promiſed him great Advantages if he

The King endeavours to re-gain the Duke.

Part II.

he would accommodate with him. By these means he daily a little restrained him, cool'd his ardour, and hindred him from carrying things to extremities. And as for the people, knowing that it was the ill Government of his Predecessor which had altered their Affections, and had furnished them with the pretext and occasion of the League to cause their emportments, he omitted no diligence nor no goodness which might reduce them sweetly to their Duty.

He endeavours likewise to regain the people;

This good King considered, that to the recovery of a disease, it is necessary that the causes be taken away; and that to this purpose he was to correct and sweeten the ill humours which had put the Estate into this extremity. His sight of it had likewise made him know, that three things principally had rendred his Predecessor odious and contemptible.

Three means by which *Henry* 3. lost the affection of his subjects. His negligence and inapplication.

“The first, was his softneſs and faint-heartedneſs; which made him, in ſtead of employing thoſe fair Talents which God had given him to rule in his Eſtate and act in the functions of a King, to neglect to apply himſelf, and not take ſufficiently to heart the conduct of his Affairs, but addict himſelf wholly to his pleaſures. As if Royalty, which is the greateſt and moſt eminent of all things here below, were onely a vain divertiſement: or as if God had made Kings onely for the love of themſelves, and not for his glory, and the common good of men.

“The ſecond, was his ill management, and the waſting his Revenues; which obliged him to ſeek extraordinary and oppreſſive ways to exact money. Now he had not onely conſumed his Revenues by his own extream profuſeneſs, and by the immenſe Gifts he made to his Favourites, a thing which made the people deſparate: but much more by his negligence, becauſe he would not give himſelf the trouble to take knowledge of, or watch over thoſe to whom he truſted their Adminiſtration: who, forgetting that they were onely his diſpenſers, became prodigal in a thouſand fooliſh expences, and diſtributed them to their Creatures, as if they had been their proper Goods.

The waſting his Revenues.

“The third, was the little belief they had in his Faith; and his manner of acting with his ſubjects too ſubtil, too fine, and too clouded; in ſuch manner, that he had always this miſfortune, they were in continual diſtruſt of him, inſomuch that all his words and actions ſeemed all fallacies, and they thought they did prudently in believing quite contrary to all he would have them believe.

His ill keeping his word.

Now our *Henry*, having known that theſe ill ways had conducted his Predeceſſor to a Precipice, reſolved, as well out of the inclination he had to good, as out of good Policy, to follow paths quite contrary.

“Firſt, he would ſhew to the League, who diſputed the Scepter with him, that he was worthy to carry it. And for this effect, he

Threeother ways quite contrary, by which *Henry* 4.

“acted

gained the eſteem and affection of his ſubjects

“ acted continually not onely in the Field, and
“ in matters of War, but in his Cabinet by his
“ deliberations of important Affairs, by his
“ Negotiations, by the order and diſtribution
“ of his Revenues, by his diſpenſation of his
“ Charges and Employments, by his knowledge
“ of the principal Laws, the order and
“ policy of his Realm; and in fine, in all his
“ Actions, like one who contents himſelf not
“ with the name of a King, but would be one
“ in effect. He would have faithful Miniſters,
“ but would have no Companions. He committed
“ to them the care of his Affairs in ſuch
“ manner, that he ſtill remained the abſolute
“ Maſter, and they the ſervants. He loved
“ them tenderly, as it was juſt, and uſed a
“ great familiarity with them; but yet permitted
“ them not to be wanting either in
“ ſubmiſſion or reſpect. If he took their counſel,
“ it was by form of advice; and he obliged
“ them much oftner by reaſon to follow
“ his, then he followed theirs. He honoured
“ them with his Graces and with Benefits, but
“ in proportion and meaſure: he gave them
“ not all to one alone, or to two or three; but
“ like a common Father, diſtributed his recompenſes
“ to all thoſe he judged worthy;
“ and he would that they ſhould receive them
“ from his hands, and not from others; for he
“ knew that to give and do good is the moſt
“ glorious Attribute of Soveraignty, which
“ ought not to be communicated to any perſon.

His activity and greatneſs of ſoul.

“ In

Part III.

His care of his Revenues.

In the ſecond place, he took a moſt par-
“ticular care to cauſe his Revenues to be
“well adminiſtred; to which, four motives
“obliged him. The firſt, becauſe he was na-
“turally, though not covetous, yet a good
“husband, and one who hated profuſeneſs.
“The ſecond, becauſe he loved his people,
“and would ſpare them the moſt he could
“poſſibly; for he made conſcience of draw-
“ing money out of their purſes, except up-
“on moſt neceſſary occaſions; and there-
“fore he never kept near him any of thoſe
“blood-ſuckers of the Court, who draw all
“to their Coffers, and who never care from
“whence it comes, ſo that they have it.
“The third, becauſe the neceſſity he had often
“been in, had made him know the value and
“need of money; and that it was good to
“manage it well, becauſe hard to recover it.
“And the fourth, becauſe not having been
“bred up ignorant in affairs, as too often
“Princes are, he had been well inform-
“ed, that the greateſt part of thoſe ills
“which had afflicted *France*, proceeded from
“the ill adminiſtration of publick monies.
And therefore among all the cares he took to govern well his Eſtates, he had none greater nor more continual, then that of ordering well his Revenues, and to clear this matter. The Superintendants had imbroyled and perplexed them with an hundred thouſand knots, ſo that they could neither be looſned nor diſtinguiſhed; and they had acted in ſuch

manner, that this management, as a Treaſurer of that time ſaid, was a kind of Black Art, where nothing could be ſeen; ſo that thus the goods of the Prince and the blood of the poor people remained ever at their diſcretion.

Francis d'*O* Superintendant of the Revenues, a great expender.

He who at preſent had care of the Revenues, was a *Norman* Gentleman, named *Francis d'O*, who had been Superintendant ſince the time of *Henry* the third. This man, to ſpeak the truth, was horribly prodigal in all ſorts of Expences: his profuſeneſs rendred him more ingenious and more ſubtil to find out new inventions to graſp the ſubſtance of the people, even to their very marrow; and to perplex more and more the order of the Revenues, to the end it might not be diſcovered what ſpoil he made. Now though the King knew him well for ſuch as he was, nevertheleſs, becauſe he had a ſtrong *Cabal* with the Minions and Servants of the Defunct *Henry* the third, who acted the parts of zealous Catholicks, he was conſtrained to ſuffer him in that charge, expecting while his affairs were in a better Eſtate. In the mean time, to give a check to his inſatiable Covetouſneſs, he by little and little himſelf took knowledge of the management of his monies, and ſweetly introduced ſome orders, now by one means, and then by another, ſo that he knew in time how to bridle him, and reduced things in ſuch manner, that he could take but little in compariſon of what he had done before.

The King conſtrained to ſuffer him in this charge, but pares his nailes.

It will be ſuperfluous to tell with what Nobleneſs and what freedom our *Henry* acted with all the world. “We may ſee through the whole courſe of his life, that his very enemies had more confidence in his word alone, then in the writings of all others. He uſed much prudence in all his conduct; but he uſed no deceit, cunning, or artifice. The Prudent man never walkes, but by wayes ſtreight and vertuous; and the cunning man, on the contrary, by paths oblique and wicked. The Prudent cannot but be generous and good; whileſt the other cannot but be baſe, deceitful, and unworthy. Now it is certain, that all the life of this great King was nothing but generoſity, goodneſs, ſweetneſs, and clemency; having a wonderful inclination to oblige all ſorts of perſons; at leaſt with kindneſſes, embraces, and ſweet words, when he had no other means: he acknowledged the leaſt ſervices, when he could do it: he ſhewed himſelf eaſie and affable to all the world, familiar to his Souldiers, pitiful to the Country-people, ſo that he would often excuſe himſelf to them when occaſion preſented, for the evils they ſuffered; proteſting, that he was not the cauſe of them, but deſired ardently that peace which *Jeſus Chriſt* recommended to *Chriſtians*; and that it was his enemies which forced him to make that War, which of himſelf he deteſted, as the ſource and fountain of all crimes and miſeries.

His conſtant keeping his word, and freedom.

His goodneſs.

He pardoned injuries, and never knew vengeance.

This reconquered his kingdom, rather then his ſword.

“enemies. There appeared in his countenance a certain alacrity, in his diſcourſe a vivacity and particular Grace of Spirit, in all his actions a reſolution and promptitude which contented the moſt difficult, and animated the moſt frozen. Though he were yet a *Hugonot*; he ſpoke with reſpect of the Pope and of the Eccleſiaſticks, treated the Great ones and Gentlemen as his Companions, and flattered them with the glory of being the right hand of his Eſtate, and the upholders of the Crown on his head. He ſcarce knew what vengeance was; his great heart was without any gall: he pardoned injuries, and likewiſe eaſily forgot them, ſo as he knew thoſe that had committed them did repent, and were diſpoſed to do good, or at leaſt to do no more ill. It was with theſe Arms, rather then with his Sword, that he vanquiſhed his crueleſt enemies, that he forced the moſt obſtinate and envenomed hearts to love him, and that of the moſt paſſionate *Leaguers*, he made his moſt faithful ſervants; eſteeming it a procedure agreeing with the grandeur and goodneſs of a Soveraign, not to loſe thoſe he might gain; and to withdraw men from their faults, rather then ruine them in them. See here how he followed ways quite contrary to thoſe his predeceſſor had taken.

1591. Diviſions and Jea-

After the departure of the Duke of *Parma*, the two parties, that of the King, and that of the League remained some time in great weakneſs; and both were equally tormented with that miſchief of Diviſions and Jealouſies: but with this difference, that thoſe on the Kings party were extinguiſhed by his good conduct, and thoſe of the League daily increaſed.

lousies in the party of the League, and that of the King.

There was a furious jealouſie between the Duke of *Nemours* and the Duke of *Mayenne*, brothers by the mothers ſide. Nor was it leſs between the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Duke of *Lorrain*, and greater much between the ſame and the *Spaniards*, who raiſed a thouſand traverſes againſt him, by means of *the Sixteen*: for as he could not ſuffer them for Companions, they could not ſuffer him as Maſter; but deſired above all things, that the League had another Chief then he.

In the party of the King, there was likewiſe three or four factions. The firſt, of the rigid and obſtinate *Hugonots*, who would not that the King ſhould ſpeak of permitting himſelf to be inſtructed, threatning to abandon him, if he thought of it; and to this effect, obſerving him continually, and as it were counting all his footſteps. The ſecond, that of the *Catholicks*, who were zealous, or who feigned to be ſo; theſe endeavoured to draw him from the *Hugonots*, and murmured when he either gave them charges or employments, or entertained them particularly. The third was that of the Servants and Courtiers of *Henry* the third, whom the humour of our *Henry*

In the party of the King, three factions of *Hugonots*, *Catholicks*, and Servants of *Henry* the third.

diſpleaſed, becauſe he gave them not all they would, and permitted himſelf not to be led by their fancy. Theſe were for the moſt part Atheiſts, and Libertines; nevertheleſs communicated with the *Catholicks*, and cauſed much inquietude to the King.

Of theſe two laſt factions joyned together, was a third party formed. *Charles* Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was called *Cardinal of Vendoſme*, whilſt the old Cardinal of *Bourbon* lived, was the Chief of it: This Prince, vain and ambitious, imagining that the Crown would be conferred on him, if his Couzen *Henry* the fourth ſhould be excluded, ſtirred up the Catholicks to preſs his Converſion, out of the belief he had that the Conſcience of that King, and his affairs not being yet diſpoſed, he could not hearken to it; and would by conſequent, by theſe heedleſs ſhifts, be taken for an obſtinate Heretick, and oblige the *Catholicks* to abandon him, and after turn on his ſide. This faction was the moſt dangerous affair that ever our *Henry* had to deal with, though he ſeemed to deſpiſe it, and called thoſe who were of it, *les Tiercelets*, or *the Thirdlings*. It ſhone not out with an unmasked face, nor did ever openly ſeparate it ſelf from the other; yet for that it ſelf it was the more to be feared; but it produced in the end that good, that he was conſtrained to let himſelf be inſtructed, and wrought to his Converſion.

As for the *Hugonots*, when they ſaw that he lent an ear to the *Catholick* Doctors, they adviſed

The *Hugonots* ſolicite the

Proteſtants to ſend *Henry* 4. powerful aſſiſtance to hinder him from turning Catholick.

viſed with themſelves, to the end they might entangle him ſo that he could not eſcape them, that they ought puiſſantly to ſollicite Queen *Elizabeth* and the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, to ſend him great forces; by whoſe help they believed they might overcome the League, after which there was no need of his Converſion, and in the mean time they would continually keep him as it were beſieged by thoſe ſtrangers forces. In effect, *Elizabeth*, who had zeal for the Proteſtant religion, intereſted her ſelf very ſtrongly in the cauſe of this King, daily generouſly aſſiſted him, and ſtrenuouſly ſollicited the *German* Princes to concur with her.

An Edict granted to the *Hugonots*.

At the ſame time the *Hugonots* preſſed with all their force, that he would grant them an Edict for the Free exerciſe of their Religion: they purſued it ſo ſtrongly, that he was forced to accord it them; and they ſent it to the Parliament ſitting at *Tours*, but they could never obtain it to be confirmed by them, but with theſe words, *by proviſo only*: ſhewing themſelves as much enemies to this falſe Religion, as they were to the factions of the League.

Death of Pope *Sixtus* 5.

During this time, Pope *Sixtus* 5. died, leaving in the Treaſury of the Church Five Millions of gold, which he had heaped up. He was much diſguſted at the League, and ſtretched forth his armes as much as he could to our *Henry*, to recal him into the Church; whilſt the League endeavoured to ſhut the gates againſt him, that they might exclude him from his Royalty. To *Sixtus* ſucceeded *Urban* 7. who held the Seat only thirteen daies: and to that *Urban*, *Gregory* the 14. who being of a violent ſpirit, and a *Spaniard* by inclination, zealouſly embraced the party of the League, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Election of *Gregory* 14.

Enterprize of the League. on *S. Denis*, where the Cavalier *d' Aumale* is killed.

I ſilently paſs over divers enterprizes made both by one party and the other. The *Pariſians* made one upon *St. Denis*. The Cavalier *d' Aumale*, one of their Chiefs, whom they called, *the Lion Rampant of the League*, was killed in the midſt of the City, when he had made himſelf almoſt maſter of it. The King on his ſide, made an other attempt upon *Paris*. It was called the battail of the Flour, becauſe he was to ſurprize the City, under pretext of a Convoy of Flour or Meal carried thither: but it was diſcovered, and obliged the Duke of *Mayenne*, upon the vehement cries of *the Sixteen*, to receive four thouſand *Spaniards* into the Garriſon; which retarded for more then a year the reduction of *Paris*.

Enterprize of the King on *Paris*, called the battail of the Flour.

It is convenient to underſtand, that neither the one nor the other party having any foundation to keep continually their Armies on foot, they only (as we may ſay) made War by intervals. When they had been three months together, they retired, and then re-aſſembled again; and according as they were ſtronger or weaker, made their enterpriſes.

The King having Rendezvouzed his, beſieged the City of *Chartres*, where *la Bourdaiſiere* commanded. There was but a ſmall Garriſon within; yet however, the ſiege was long, difficult and bloody. Its length gave ſubject to the third party to continue many dangerous intrigues: but the taking of that place repreſſed them for ſome time. He reſtored the Government to *Chiverni* Chancellour of *France*, who had had it before the League ſeized it.

Chartres beſieged and taken by the King.

After this, the Duke of *Mayenne*, who beheld himſelf in no very good Eſtate, following the Counſel of the Duke of *Parma*, renewed a Conference for peace; which ending without doing any thing, the Princes *Lorrains*, and the Principal Chiefs of the League, held a general Aſſembly at *Reims*. It was reſolved that they being altogether too weak to reſiſt the King, and wanting money, it was abſolutely neceſſary to unite themſelves more firmely with *Spain* then they had formerly done: and to this Effect, they diſpatched the Preſident *Janin* to *Philip* the ſecond. This Preſident was a man of a ſtrong brain, and a good French-man, who laboured for the League, and for the Duke of *Mayenne*; but who would ſave the Eſtate by ſaving the Religion: ſo that he well endeavoured to ſerve himſelf of the *Spaniard*; but he would not ſerve them, or procure their advancement. Yet we cannot doubt, but as he had his ends, they had likewiſe theirs; and that they deſigned

Preſident *Janin* ſent to *Spain* on the part of the League

The *Spaniards* deſign to profit themſelves by the ruine of *France*.

Part II. ſigned to make good their expences laid out for the League, on the Kingdom of *France*.

The *Spaniard* had for Aid and Second in his deſign, the new Pope *Gregory* the 14. who yet went on more ſwiftly, and with more heat then he: for without having regard either to the Letters which *Monſieur de Luxembourg*, after Duke of *Piney*, writ to him on the part of the Princes and *Catholick* Lords which were in the Kings party; or to the ſubmiſſions, and three humble Remonſtrances made him by the *Marquis* of *Piſany*, who was there at *Rome*, deputed from them; he ſtrenuouſly embraced the party of the League, entertained correſpondence with *the Sixteen*, receiving Letters from them, and writing to them; and which is more, he prodigally waſted that treaſure which *Sixtus* 5. had heaped up, to raiſe an Army of twelve thouſand men, giving the Command to Count *Hercules Sfondrato* his Nephew, whom he made expreſly Duke of *Montmarcian*, to authorize him the more by this new title. He accompanied this Army with a Monitory or Bull of Excommunication againſt the Prelates which followed the King, and ſent it by *Marcelin Landriano* his *Nuntio*, with great quantity of Silver to *the Sixteen* of *Paris*, to be diſtributed among them, and the Chiefs of the *Cabals* in the great Cities.

Gregory 14. ſends an Army to the League.

And a Bull of Excommunication againſt thoſe Prelates follow the King, and money to the *Sixteen*.

The Parliament at *Tours* having had advice of this Monitory, cauſed it to be torn by the hand of the Common Scavenger, and decreed an Arreſt againſt the *Nuntio*. That Part II. at *Paris*, on the contrary, annulled that Arreſt, as being, ſaid they, by perſons without power; and commanded that the holy Father and his *Nuntio* ſhould be obeyed.

After all, theſe Bulls produced no great effect at preſent; and the Cardinal of *Bourbon* tormented himſelf in vain, to make the aſſembly of the Clergy which was held at *Chartres*, declare againſt the Arreſt at *Tours*. Nor did the Army of the Pope do any great exploits, but was almoſt quite diſperſed, ere it came to render any Service.

Henry well ſerved by the Count of *Turenne*.

The ſame arrived not to thoſe Troops the King had cauſed to be raiſed in *Germany*, by the Viſcount of *Turenne*. They ſerved the King well in his affairs, and gained him notable advantages. In recompence, he honoured this Lord with the Staff of Marſhal of *France*; to render him the more capable to Eſpouſe *Charlotta de la Mark*, Dutcheſs of *Bouillon*, and Sovereign Lady of *Sedan*: who though a *Hugonot*, had been puiſſantly ſought to, both by friendſhip and force, by the Duke of *Lorrain*, who deſired to marry her to his Eldeſt Son the Marquis *du Pont*. The King made this Match, to oppoſe a man to the Duke of *Lorrain*, who helped to ſuſtain the League. Of which the new Marſhal acquitted himſelf, having among other fair exploits ſurprized *Stenay* the night preceding his Nuptials.

And by the Duke *Leſdiguieres*.

The King had another great Captain in

the *Daulphinate*, which was *Leſdiguieres*; who held that Country, having reduced the City of *Grenoble*; and who ſaved *Provence* for him, of which the Duke of *Savoy* thought to ſeize himſelf, and diſmember that piece from the Crown. This Duke being Son-in-law to *Philip* the ſecond, King of *Spain*, the puiſſance of his Father-in-law had raiſed his Ambition and Courage, and made him forget that conſtant affection which his Predeceſſors have almoſt continually had for *France*, inſomuch that they have held themſelves much honoured to be Penſioners to our Kings. But the Conduct and Valour of *Leſdiguieres* made him repent all his high deſigns, eſpecially by the battails of *Eſparon de Pallieres*, and of *Pont-Charra*, where that Duke received as much loſs as confuſion.

He becomes paſſionate of the fair *Gabriella*.

About this time, our *Henry* conceived a paſſion for the Fair *Gabriella d' Eſtrees*; who was of a very noble houſe; and that paſſion by degrees grew ſo ſtrong, that whilſt ſhe lived, ſhe held the Principal place in his heart: ſo that after having had by her three or four Children, he had almoſt reſolved to marry her, though he knew not how to do it, but by hazarding great troubles, and very dangerous difficulties. Having taken the City of *Noyon*, he gave the Government to Count *d' Eſtrees*, Father of this fair one; and a little after, gave him likewiſe the charge of Great Maſter of the Artillery, which had formerly been held by *John d' Eſtrees*, in the year 1550.

Not

The Duke of *Guiſe* eſcapes from priſon

Not long after the Siege of *Noyon*, he underſtood the eſcape of the Duke of *Guiſe*, who after many other attempts, had got at high-noon out of the Caſtle of *Tours*, where he had been in priſon ſince his fathers death. The News at firſt no leſs touched the King, then it ſurprized him: he feared this great Name of *Guiſe*, which had given him ſo much trouble; and he doubted leſt this young Prince ſhould re-ingroſs the love of the people, which his father had poſſeſſed to ſo high a pitch: he was troubled to have loſt ſuch a Gage, which might ſerve him in many things. However, after he had a little meditated, he diminiſhed his apprehenſions, and told thoſe who were about him, “That he had more reaſon to rejoyce “then be troubled: for of force it muſt happen, that either the Duke of *Guiſe* muſt take “his party; and that if he did ſo, he would “treat him as his Parent and Kinſman: or “that he muſt caſt himſelf into the League; “and then it would be impoſſible that the “Duke of *Mayenne* and he could continue any “long time without contending and becoming “enemies.

The judicious reaſoning of *Hen.* 4. on his eſcape.

This Prognoſtick was very true. The Duke of *Mayenne* having ſeen thoſe Rejoycings which all the League teſtified at this News; the Bonefires made in the great Cities, thoſe Actions of thanks which the Pope cauſed publickly to be rendred to God, and the hopes which the *Sixteen* conceived to ſee revived in this Prince the Protection and Qualities of his Fa-

The Duke of *Mayenne* becomes jealous of his nephew

Father, which they had idolatrized: the Duke of *Mayenne*, I ſay, ſeeing all this, was ſtruck with a very ſtrong Jealouſie: and though he ſent him monies, with entreaties that they might have an Interview; yet notwithſtanding he looked not upon him as a new reinforce, but as a new ſubject of inquietude and trouble to him.

The *Sixteen* lean to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and would loſe *Mayenne*.

They write to the King of *Spain*.

In effect, this young Prince immediately knit himſelf in firm bond with the *Sixteen*, and promiſed to take their protection. By this means, and by the help of the *Spaniards*, they emboldened themſelves in ſuch manner, that they reſolved to looſe the Duke of *Mayenne*, not ceaſing to cry down his Conduct among the people. I have been aſſured, that there was ſome amongſt them who writ a Letter to the King of *Spain*; by which they caſt themſelves into his Arms, and intreated him, if he would not reign over them, to give them a King of his Race, or to chuſe a Son-in-law for his Daughter, whom they would receive with all Obedience and Fidelity. They adviſed themſelves beſides this, to make a new form of Oath for the League, which excluded the Princes of the Blood; to the end they might oblige all ſuſpected perſons, who would not ſwear a thing ſo contrary to their thoughts, to depart out of the City, and to abandon their Goods to them. By this artifice, they drave away many perſons; among others, the Cardinal of *Gondé*, Biſhop of *Paris*, whom they had begun to hate, becauſe

They drive the Cardinal of *Gonde*, & many others, from *Paris*.

that with ſome Clerks of the City, he honeſtly endeavoured to diſpoſe the people in favour of the King.

There remained nothing now but to diſſolve the Parliament, who watched them day and night, and ſtopt their Enterprizes. They had purſued the Condemnation of one named *Brigard*, becauſe he had Correſpondence with the Royaliſts; and the Parliament having pardoned him, they were ſo incenſed, that the moſt paſſionate, by conſpiracy amongſt them, and by their private Authority having cauſed thoſe of their faction to take arms, went to ſeize on the perſons of the Preſident *de Briſſon*, and of *de Larcher*, and *de Tardiff*, Counſellours, whom they carried priſoners to the *Caſtelet*; and after ſome formalities, one of them pronounced againſt them the ſentence of death: in execution of which, they cauſed them all three to be hanged at the window of the Chamber, and on the morrow to be carried to the * *Greve*, to the end they might move the people in their favour; but the greateſt part abhorred ſo damnable an attempt; and even the moſt zealous of the party remained mute, not knowing whether they ought to approve or blame it.

By a horrible attempt they cauſe to be hanged the Preſident of *Briſſon*, and two Counſellours.

Yet there were ſome of theſe *Sixteen* found ſo determinate as to paſs farther; they ſaid, They muſt finiſh the Tragedy, and rid themſelves of the Duke of *Mayenne*, if he came to *Paris*, he being at preſent at *Laon*: That after that, they might aſſure to themſelves the

City,

Some would likewiſe kill the Duke of *Mayenne*, but want heart to do it.

The publick place of execution in Paris.

City; elect a Chief who ſhould depend of them, re-eſtabliſh the Council of Forty which that Duke had aboliſhed, and demand the Union of the great Cities. And certainly there was ſome appearance, that having the *Baſtille*, of which *Buſſy* was Governour, the common people and the Gariſon of *Spaniards* for them, that they might render themſelves Maſters of *Paris*; and afterwards treat at their pleaſure, either with the King, or with the Duke of *Guiſe*, or with the *Spaniards*: but they wanted Reſolution. In the mean time, the Duke of *Mayenne* having been in two days doubt whether he ſhould come to *Paris*, becauſe he feared they would ſhut the Gates againſt him, at length comes with a warlike attendance; and ſeeing that the Parliament durſt not attempt to make proceſs againſt theſe people, he reſolved, whatever might arrive, to chaſtiſe them himſelf; and thereupon, without form of Proceſs, in his Cabinet, condemns nine to death. They could catch but four, whom he cauſed to be hanged in the *Louvre*; the other five ſaved themſelves in *Flanders*. The moſt remarkable of theſe five, was *Buſſy le Clerke*, who had been conſtrained to yeild the *Baſtille* to the Dukes people. He was ſeen to lead a miſerable life in the City of *Bruxels*; yet ſtill to conſerve his hatred againſt the French, even to the laſt gaſp, which he breathed forth a little before the laſt Declaration of War between the two Crowns.

Upon this, the Duke comes to *Paris*, and hangs four; which quite quells the faction of the *Sixteen*.

This terrible blow having quite quelled the

faction

He makes four Preſidents of Parliament.

faction of the *Sixteen*, the Duke made four Preſidents of Parliament, there being now none at all; for *Briſſon* was remaining alone, the reſt being gone to *Tours*. “But he demonſtrated by this, that he did not well underſtand his own intereſts; for in my opinion, it is impoſſible that the Parliament and the Nobility ſhould remain any long time ſeparate from the King; nor can the force of a Party contrary to Royalty conſiſt but onely in two things, to wit, the People or the Souldiery.

1592. The King beſieges *Rouen*, where *Villars* was Governour.

Great and memorable Sally.

So ſoon as the King had received the aid of *England*, and that of the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, he beſieged the City of *Rouen*. This was one of the moſt memorable Sieges of that time. *Villars*, a Provincial Gentleman who was Governour, did wonderful Actions. The Duke of *Parma* came to his aſſiſtance, having for that purpoſe joyned with the Duke of *Mayenne*: but *Villars*, who feared that they would not come in time, and likewiſe that the Duke of *Mayenne* would deprive him of his Government if he entred the ſtronger into his place, endeavoured to relieve himſelf; and by a Sally, which we may almoſt call a Battel, drove the Beſiegers a good diſtance from the Walls. The Dukes ſeeing that, and that he was no more preſſed, retired; and *Parma* lodged his Troops about *de Rue* in *Ponthieu*. But two moneths after, *Villars* wanting Victuals, and the Courage of the Burgeſſes ſlackning, he was conſtrained to write to them,

that

Part II.

The City preſſed, *Parma* comes to relieve it.

that they ſhould make haſte to come and relieve him. The Dukes on ſo hot an advice, re-aſſembled their Troops in one day, repaſſed the *Soame*; and marching without Baggage, came more then thirty Leagues in four days, though there were on their way four Rivers to paſs.

The King raiſes his Siege, and retires to *Pont de l' Arche*.

Being arrived within a League of *Rouen*, they drew into Battalia, in a Valley on the ſide of *Dernetal*. The King, who was gone to *Diepe*, finding at his return his Army too much weakned to reſiſt thoſe within and without, raiſed the Siege, to his great diſcontent; and having at a Leagues diſtance attended them for twelve moneths ſpace in Battail-array, he after retired to *Pont de l' Arche*. It was held by many, that had they purſued him, he could difficultly have ſhunned either the fighting of a Battel, or the looſing of it: but the Duke of *Mayenne*, either out of the jealouſie he had of the Duke of *Parma*, or for other Reaſons, was obſtinately of opinion, that it was neceſſary to take *Caudebec*, to open the mouth of the *Seine*, and bring proviſions to *Rouen*. The Duke of *Parma* was forced to yeild to yeild to his advice. They took *Caudebec* in four and twenty hours: but *Parma* was wounded in the Arm with a Muſquet-ſhot; and ſome days after, the Duke of *Mayenne* fell ſick; ſo that both Generals were both at one time in their Litters.

The Duke of *Parma* takes *Caudebec*, and is wounded; and the Duke of *Mayenne* falls ſick.

The Army of the King increaſes,

In the mean time, in five or ſix days, the Army of the King encreaſed by three thou-

ſaid

ſand Horſe, and ſix thouſand Infantry, which flocked to his aſſiſtance from the adjacent Provinces; ſo that he was ſtronger then his enemies by near five thouſand men. Now Fortune turned, he went to ſearch them, and ſhut them up near to *Yvetot*, and cut off all proviſions from them; ſo that they were conſtrained to diſlodge by night, and go encamp near *Caudebec*. The two Generals being yet in bed, and their Troops very much amazed, the Marſhal of *Byron* beat up one Quarter; and in the end, defeated their light-Horſe. The Kings Infantry prepared at the ſame time to charge the *Walloon*-foot; which without doubt, in the fear they were in, would have demanded quarter: but *Byron* called them back, for fear, ſaid he, leſt they ſhould engage themſelves between two quarters of the Enemies. It was believed he did thus, that he might not finiſh the War where he had the principal Command. And ſee here a ſufficient proof of it at another time. The Baron of *Byron* his Son, who was likewiſe afterwards Marſhal, having demanded of him five hundred Horſe, and as many Dragoons, to go and inveſt the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was as it were in a trap; the Father ſeeing in effect that this enterprize was infallible, regarding him with an angry look, told him ſwearing, * *How now, Villain, wouldſt thou have us ſend to plant Cabbages for* Byron?

“ From hence we may know how Wars come
“ to be of ſuch continuance; it being for the
“ intereſt of their Chiefs to prolong them,
“ be-

and he purſues the two Dukes.

Byron beats up one quarter, but will not quite defeat them;

He would continue the War.

* *A French Proverb, as if he ſhould ſay, wouldſt thou have me ruine my own Fortune?*

“because they finde in them their advantage,
“in the ſame manner as Lawyers do theirs in
“retarding a Proceſs.

Wonderful retreat of the Duke of *Parma*, which the King cannot hinder

Some days after, the Duke of *Parma*, being recovered, re-called to minde all thoſe inventions and all thoſe ſtratagems which he had learnt by a long experience, and by profound meditation, to retire himſelf from ſo ill a condition. He found in the end no other way then to paſs the River, and retreat in all haſte towards *Paris*. He to this effect cauſed to be built two Forts, directly oppoſite to each other, on the banks of the *Seine*, with Redoubts which commanded on the Water, and greater ones on the outſide, which looked towards the Army of the King. By the favour of theſe Forts, he paſſed in an obſcure night both his Baggage, Cavalry, Infantry and Artillery, over Bridges of Boats, covered with Planks which he had made to deſcend from *Rouen*; whilſt the King, who in effect had perceived it too late, could not hinder him. So ſoon as he had paſſed, he took his march by the plains of *Neuf-bourg*, and made ſuch haſte, that in four days he arrived at *Pont de Charenton*, not having been able to ſleep (as himſelf avowed afterwards) till he was come into *Brie*.

Afterwards he led back his Troops to the Low-Countries, covered with glory, for having the ſecond time made a great King raiſe his Siege when there was leaſt appearance; and having in his ſight, deceiving his Vigilance and Diligence, paſſed a great River, or rather an arme of the Sea, without his being able to aſſault him.

This action was ſo gallant, that our *Henry* could not refrain from wondring at it; eſteeming it more glorious then the gain of two battails. "Acknowledging that the "chief work of a great Captain, was not "ſo much to fight or overcome, as to do "what he enterprizes without hazarding a "combat.

The King admires the action.

We ought not forget how that the firſt time that the Duke of *Parma* advanced to the relief of *Rouen*, the King went to meet him with a part of his Army as far as *Aumale*, as well to hinder him from paſſing that little River, as to take notice of him; and how with four or five hundred Carabines only he ſtopt for a long time all the enemies Army, by three or four vigorous Charges. The Duke of *Parma* believed not that the King was there; not judging that he would hazard his perſon in ſo dangerous a poſt, and with ſo few forces; but ſo ſoon as he knew that himſelf was preſent, he cauſed all his Carabines to give the Charge, ſuſtained by his light-horſemen. The King ſeeing his men ſo preſſed, gave two vigorous Charges, during which they drew forth the greateſt part of the Baggage out of the Bourg: but all the body of the Dukes Cavalry coming on, the King loſt many of his men, and himſelf ran great danger of being ſlain, or taken priſoner; but God permitted that he was only wounded

A noble and dangerous action of the King at *Aumale*, where he ſaved his Rere-guard.

with a Piſtol-ſhot, on the Reins, which had been mortal if the Bullet had had more force; but it pierced only his cloths and his ſhirt, and ſomewhat razed the skin. His valour and his good fortune, both equally contributed to draw him out of this peril, and to bring, after ſo ſharp a check, both his perſon, and what remained of his Troops, into ſafety.

Grave anſwer of the Duke of *Parma's* concerning the Kings action.

The Duke of *Parma* admired this action; but prayſed the Courage which our *Henry* had teſtified, more then his Prudence: for when he was demanded what he thought of this Retreat, he anſwered, "*That in effect* "*it was very gallant; but for his part, he would* "*never bring himſelf into a place where he* "*ſhould be forced to retire.* This was tacitely "to ſay, that a Prince and a General ought "to ſecure themſelves better. And ſo all the Kings faithful ſervants came the ſame evening to intreat him that he would ſpare his perſon, on which the ſafety of *France* depended. And the Queen of *England*, his moſt faithful friend, prayed him that he would preſerve himſelf, and at leaſt keep within the terms of a great Captain, who ought not to come to handy-ſtroaks, but in the laſt extremity.

Byron killed at *Eſpernay*.

After the raiſing the ſiege of *Rouen*, the greateſt part of the Kings Army paſſed into *Champagne*, in purſuit of the Duke of *Parma*, and laid ſiege before the City of *Eſpernay*, and took it. The Marſhal of *Byron* was killed by a Faulcon-ſhot, which carried away his head as he was viewing the place. His eldeſt Son, who was named the Baron of *Byron*, as great a Captain as the Father, and much loved by the King, was a little after honoured with the ſame Charge of Marſhal of *France*: but he loſt his Head ſomewhat leſs gloriouſly then his Father.

The Duke of *Mayenne* and the Duke of *Parma* being parted ill ſatisfied one with the other, it was not difficult to renew the Conferences between the firſt and the Royaliſts: however, things were not yet ripe; there were ſome ſeeds ſown, which ſome time after brought forth fruit: for the King conſented that he would within ſix moneths permit himſelf to be inſtructed by thoſe means which might not wrong either his Honour or his Conſcience. He gave leave likewiſe to the Catholick Lords of his party, to depute ſome towards the Pope, to let him underſtand the duties he applyed himſelf to, and to intreat him to add his Authority; and that in the mean time, Peace ſhould be dayly treated of.

Conferences renewed.

The Duke of *Mayenne* and his party demanded Conditions ſo advantagious, that they were ill reſented; and, to ſpeak truth, many things in this Conjuncture did much trouble our *Henry*: that which moſt of all perplexed him, was, that the Duke of *Mayenne* violently preſſed by the inſtances of the Pope, and the King of *Spain*, by the remonſtrances of thoſe great Cities which took his party, and like-

The Duke of *Mayenne* calls the Eſtates to *Paris* to elect a King.

likewiſe by the neceſſity of his Affairs, had called the Eſtates-General to *Paris* to proceed to the Nomination of a King.

The election of a King would have been the ruine of *Henry* 4. and *France*.

Now this Nomination had been the indubitable ruine of *France*, and poſſibly cauſed the abſolute expulſion of our *Henry*. For there was much appearance and likelyhood that all the Catholick Potentates of *Chriſtendome* would have acknowledged that King whom the States ſhould have elected; that the Clergy would have done the like; and that the Nobility and people, who followed not our *Henry* but becauſe he had the Title of King, would not have made conſcience to have quitted him, for another to whom the Eſtates had granted it.

Expedient which the King finds to hinder this election.

To the end therefore he might hinder this mortal blow, he wiſely adviſed with himſelf to propoſe a Conference of the Lords of his Party, with theſe pretended Eſtates. The Duke of *Mayenne* was well content with this Expedient, becauſe he ſaw well that the King of *Spain* deſired that he who ſhould be elected, ſhould eſpouſe his Daughter *Iſabella-Clara-Eugenia*; and thus the Election could not regard him, ſince he was married, and had children: but likewiſe out of fear leſt they ſhould hearken to an acknowledgement of our *Henry*, he underhand ſtirred up ſome Doctors to ſay, That this Conference with a Heretick was unlawful; and by vertue of this advice, he wrought in ſuch manner, that the Eſtates agreed they would not confer with him, neither

ther directly nor indirectly, touching his Eſtabliſhment, nor touching the Doctrine of the Faith; but that they would confer with the Catholicks holding his party, for the good of Religion, and the publick Repoſe.

The Legat knowing well what this would come to, endeavoured with all his power to hinder the effect of this Deliberation of the Eſtates: but in the end, he was conſtrained to lend his hand to it. The Conference was then concluded; and the Deputies of one part and the other aſſembled at the Borough of *Surene*, near *Paris*.

Conference of *Surene*.

1593.

Eſtates of the League aſſemble at *Paris*.

The Eſtates were aſſembled in the month of *January*, in the year 1593. and ſate in the great Hall of the *Louvre*. There were few Noble-men, a great number of Prelates, and a ſufficient quantity of Deputies of the third Eſtate; but the moſt part Creatures of the Duke of *Mayenne*, or payed by the King of *Spain*. This Prince, deſiring at any price ſo-ever to have the Crown for his Daughter, had deſtined to ſend a puiſſant Army into *France*, which ſhould haſten the Reſolutions of the Eſtates: but happily for our *Henry*, the incomparable Duke of *Parma* was dead, and the *Spaniard* had not in the Low-Countries any Captains capable of great things. The Count of *Mansfield* had order to lead his Troops; the Duke of *Mayenne* went to meet him. They re-took *Noyon*, but that was all: afterward they melted away, and became ſo weak, that not daring to paſs any farther, they returned in-

Mansfield comes with a *Spaniſh* Army, takes *Noyon*, afterwards his Army diſſipates.

into *Flanders*, where Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau* found them ſufficient employment.

Byron raiſes the ſiege of *Selles* to relieve *Noyon*, but dares not attempt it:

During the Siege of *Noyon*, the young *Byron*, to whom the King had newly given the charge of Admiral, yeilded up by the Duke of *Eſpernon* in change for the Government of *Provence*, had beſieged *Selles* in *Berry*, to take that Thorne out of the foot of the City of *Tours*. The King, perceiving that this paltry Town held him too long time, had called him thence to go and relieve *Noyon*; which notwithſtanding he durſt not enterprize. These little diſgraces wonderfully puffed up the hearts of the Kings enemies, cool'd his friends, and emboldned the faction.

which puffs up the Kings enemies.

The third party, who had kept under a covert, now began to move; and likewiſe a report ran, that there were ſome Catholicks who had conſpired to ſeize the perſon of the King in *Mantes*, under colour of ſnatching him out of the hands of the *Hugonots*; and would carry him to Maſs whether he would or not. He was ſo much affrighted at it, or feigned to be ſo, that he took the Field, gathered together his ſureſt friends, and cauſed the *Engliſh* Forces to come and lodge in the Suburbs of *Limay*.

Conſpiracy to ſurprize his perſon.

The Duke of *Feria* brings a Letter to the States-General from the King of *Spain*.

At the ſame time the Duke *de Feria*, Ambaſſador from the King of *Spain* to the States-General, arrived at *Paris*: he preſented to them a very civil Letter on the part of his Maſter, and made them a large Speech, by which he exhorted them to expedite the naming of a King; offering them all aſſiſtance both of men and monies. In effect, the King of *Spain* paſſionately deſired the chuſing of one, becauſe, as we have ſaid, he would give him in marriage his Daughter *Iſabella*, whom he ſingularly loved.

It was time for the King to convert.

It was therefore now time that our *Henry* ſhould either publiſh to the world that he would perſevere in his Religion without wavering; in which caſe he muſt reſolve on a War, of which poſſibly he might never ſee the end; or return into the boſome of the Catholick Church.

The Spanioſized Leaguers feared above all things this change, which would take from them all pretext: the good *Catholicks* ardently wiſhed it; they onely feared leſt his Converſion ſhould be feigned: the rigid *Hugonots* endeavoured to divert him; threatning him with the Judgements of God if he abandoned, ſaid they, the Evangelical Truth. But all Politicians, both of the one and the other Religion, counſelled him not to delay it. They told him, that of all Canons, the Canon of the Maſs would prove beſt to reduce the Cities of his Kingdome; they beſought him that he would ſerve himſelf of it; and to their Prayers, they added Threats to abandon him, and to retire themſelves, being wearied with conſuming themſelves in his ſervice for the Capricio of ſome obſtinate Preaching-Miniſters, who hindred him from embracing the Religion of his Predeceſſors.

In fine, God touches him, and he is converted.

Beſides theſe humane Motives, God, who is never wanting to thoſe who ſeek him with ſubmiſſion, cleared his underſtanding with his holy Lights, and rendred him capable to receive the ſaving inſtructions of the Catholick Prelates. This reſolution taken, he immediately gives advice of it to the Deputies of the League in the Conference of *Surene*. It cannot be imagined how great was their aſtoniſhment, nor how the Duke of *Mayenne* was ſurprized: for they leaſt of all expected to hear this News.

The *Spaniards* and Legat preſs the Eſtates to chuſe a King.

The *Spaniards* and the Legat having advice that he was about to convert, preſſed the Eſtates more vehemently to elect a King: and ſeeing that the *French* would not accept of any but one of their own Nation, they propoſed that their King ſhould name a *French* Prince, who ſhould reign wholly and individually with the Infanta *Iſabella*.

Grand arreſt of the Parliament at *Paris* for the Salique Law.

When the Parliament underſtood this, and that the Eſtates were not averſe to this Propoſition; that great Body, though captive and diſmembred, remembring its ancient Vigour, ordained, That Remonſtrances ſhould be made to the Duke of *Mayenne*, that he ſhould maintain the Fundamental Laws of the Eſtate, and that he ſhould hinder the Crown, the Lieutenancy of which was committed to him, from being transferred to Strangers: moreover, declaring null all Treaties made or that ſhould be made, which ſhould be contrary to that Law of the Eſtate.

It was ſuſpected that this Arreſt was made by Colluſion with the Duke of *Mayenne*: but *Villeroy*, the greateſt States-man of the Kingdom, gave this Teſtimony for the Parliament, that it took the counſel from himſelf: *Having no other Motives then thoſe of Honour and Duty, as perſons who would chuſe rather to looſe their lives then be wanting either of the one or the other, by conniving at the renverſement of the Laws of the Realm, of which by their inſtitution they are Protectors, and obliged to maintain them by the Oath given them at their Reception.* Theſe words are all very memorable.

Advantageous teſtimony of *Villeroy* in favour of the Parliament.

The Vigour of this Arreſt, made all thoſe good French-men which were in *Paris*, and in the Eſtates, take heart; and at the ſame time the taking of *Dreux*, which the Kings Army forced, cauſed a great aſtoniſhment among the moſt paſſionate *Leaguers*. Nevertheleſs the *Spaniards* ceaſed not to purſue their deſigne. The Duke of *Mayenne*, thinking to ſtop their courſe, made exceſſive Demands before any proceed ſhould be made to the election of a King: but that they might come to their point, they granted him all; and in the end, they declared that their King would name to the Eſtates the Duke of *Guiſe*, to whom he would give his Daughter in marriage, and all forces neceſſary to aſſure him the Crown, if they found it convenient to give him their Suffrages, and elect him.

The King takes *Dreux*.

The *Spaniards* propoſe to the Eſtates to elect the Duke of *Guiſe* and their Infanta.

Part III

The Duke of *Mayenne* enraged, & his Wife more.

Never was man more aſtoniſhed then the Duke of *Mayenne*, when he ſaw that he ſhould be conſtrained to obey his Nephew, and that his Authority muſt end. His Wife yet more impatient then he, could not refrain from making appear her deſpite and jealouſie; and rather then ſuffer that they ſhould confer the Crown on this young Prince, ſhe counſelled her Husband to make peace with the King at any price whatſoever. He was in effect reſolved to do all things rather then raiſe his Nephew above himſelf; and therefore he employed all ſorts of means to hinder him; and to this purpoſe he concluded a Truce with the King, notwithſtanding the oppoſitions of the Legat and *Spaniards*.

He makes truce with the King.

In purſuance of this Truce, the King came to St. *Denis*; where there met many Prelates and Doctors, by whoſe care he cauſed himſelf to be inſtructed. An Hiſtorian reports, that the King cauſing a Conference to be held before him between the Doctors of the one and the other Church, and hearing a Miniſter grant that one might be ſaved in the Religion of the *Catholicks*, his Majeſty breaking ſilence, and ſpeaking to the Miniſter, *How!* ſaid he, *do you agree that one may be ſaved in the Religion of theſe Gentlemen?* The Miniſter anſwering that he doubted it not, ſo that they lived well; the King very judiciouſly replyed; *Prudence will that I ſhould be of their Religion, and not of yours; becauſe being of theirs, I may be ſaved both according to their opinion and yours; but*

His ſubtile Argument againſt the Miniſter.

being of yours, I can be ſaved onely according to your opinion, but not according to theirs: Prudence therefore teaches me to follow the moſt aſſured. And thus after long inſtructions, in which he would amply be cleared in all his Doubts, he abjured his Errour, made profeſſion of the Catholick Faith, and received Abſolution in the Abby-Church of St. *Denis*, in the moneth of *July*, by the Miniſtery of *Renaud de Beaune*, Archbiſhop of *Bourges*.

He abjures his Errour, and becomes a Catholick.

That Evening the whole Champaign between *Paris* and *Pointoiſe* was made ſhine with fires of Joy; and great number of *Pariſians*, who had flocked to St. *Denis* to ſee this Ceremony, brought back an entire ſatisfaction, and fill'd the whole City with eſteem and affection for the King; inſomuch that they called him no longer *Bearnois*, but abſolutely King.

The Eſtates of *Paris* ſate no long time after. The Duke of *Mayenne* diſmiſſed the Deputies, who the moſt part returned ill ſatisfied into their Provinces; where they ſerved not a little to diſpoſe them to reduce themſelves under the Obedience of their Legitimate Soveraign.

The Duke of *Mayenne* diſmiſſes the Eſtates

There reſted now no other pretext to the League, except that the King had not received Abſolution from St. *Peter*'s Chair; that therefore he was not yet in the bounds of the Church, and that they could not acknowledge him until he was entred at the great Gate.

Part. II.

The King ſends the Duke of *Nevers* to *Rome*, to have abſolution of the Pope.

The Pope ſhews himſelf very difficult

He had ſent the Duke of *Nevers* to *Rome*, to Negotiate this affair with the Pope; who was very much incenſed, that the Prelates of *France* had enterprized to abſolve him, though they had not abſolved him, but by proviſion, *ad Cautelam* only; for he ſaid, that he alone had authority to reſtore a relapſed perſon, as having the only Sovereign power to bind and to looſe; and for this cauſe, he appeared ſo difficult, nor could ever be bended, till he ſaw the party of the League quite overthrown.

1594.

The League fals in leſs then a year.

Now ſince the life and actions of the King made it appear that his converſion was not feigned, the League having no other valuable pretext, was dug up, as we may ſo ſay, by the very foundation; ſo that before the end of the year, it fell to the ground, and there remained to it only a very ſmall number of places in the utmoſt parts of the Realm, the other Chiefs not being willing to run to the end the fortune of the Duke of *Mayenne*. This Prince was very irreſolute, and knew not what he ought to do, as well becauſe of his natural ſlowneſs, as out of the regret he had to quit the Sovereign authority which he had in his hands, and out of fear likewiſe not to find ſafety with the King.

Meaux, *Aix*, *Lyons*, *Orleans* & *Bourges*, ſurrender to the King.

In the mean time, *Vitry* deſiring to be the firſt ſhould re-enter under his obedience, as he had been the firſt had ſeparated from it, brought back the City of *Meaux*. The Count of *Carces* delivered that of *Aix* in *Provence*.

Lyons ſurrendred of it ſelf, of which the Duke of *Mayenne* was in part cauſe, by having endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of that City, and ſnatch it from the Duke of *Nemours*, his brother by the mothers ſide, who intended to eſtabliſh a ſmall Sovereignty in that Country. That he might compaſs his deſign, he had by ſecret contrivances made the Burgeſſes riſe againſt that young Prince; ſo that they having ſeized of his perſon, had made him a priſoner in the Caſtle of *Pierre-Enciſe*. But he found that in this he more laboured for the King then for himſelf: for the Burgeſſes, who had made priſoners the Duke of *Nemours*, fearing leſt the brothers ſhould agree among themſelves to their prejudice, treated ſecretly with Colonel *Alfonſo d' Ornano*, Lieutenant-General for the King in the *Daulphinate*, and being well fortified, took the White-ſcarſe, and cried, *Vive le Roy*. The Caſtle likewiſe returned to its duty, with the Cities of *Orleans* and *Bourges*.

Reduction of *Paris*.

The reduction of *Paris* happened on the two and twentieth day of *March*. The Parliament, the Provoſt of the Merchants, and the Sheriffs, having diſpoſed this great City, received the King, maugre the vain endeavours of ſome remnant of the faction of the *Sixteen*. The Duke of *Mayenne* was gone into *Picardy*; and *Briſſac*, to whom he had confided the Government of *Paris* for ſome months paſt, having taken it from the Count of *Belin*, broke his faith with him; believing

Paris, leaving the ſlight, rather to the King then him.

The King anointed at *Chartres*.

The King had a little before cauſed himſelf to be anointed at *Chartres*, with the Cruſe of St *Martin* of *Tours*. The City of *Reims* was yet in the hands of the League; but he would not longer defer his Coronation, becauſe he knew that that Ceremony was abſolutely neceſſary, to confirm to him the affection and reſpect of his people.

It was almoſt a wonder how he became maſter of *Paris*.

It was almoſt a miracle, how that there being four or five thouſand *Spaniards* Engariſoned in *Paris*, and ten or twelve thouſand factious perſons remaining of the *Cabal of the Sixteen*, who all cruelly hated the King, he could nevertheleſs render himſelf maſter of it, without ſtriking ſtroak, or without ſhedding blood, except that of five or ſix Mutineers, who came into the ſtreets to cry to Arms. His Troops having by intelligence ſeized on the gates, ramparts, and publick places, he entred triumphantly into the City by the new gate, by which *Henry* the third had unhappily fled ſix years before, and went directly to *Noſtredame*, to hear Maſs, and cauſe *Te Deum* to be ſung: afterward he returned to the *Louvre*, where he found his Officers, and his Dinner ready, as if he had always remained there.

After Dinner he gave the *Spaniſh* Gariſon a ſafe-Conduct, and a good Convoy, to conduct them as far as the tree of *Gaiſs* in all ſecurity: for ſo thoſe had deſired, who brought them into the City. The Gariſon departed about three a Clock, the ſame day of his entrance, with twenty or thirty of the moſt obſtinate Leaguers; who choſe rather to follow ſtrangers, then obey their Natural Prince. He would needs ſee them depart, and regarded them paſſing from a window by *St. Denis* gate; they all ſaluted him with their hats very low, and with a profound inclination: he returned the ſalutes to their Chiefs with great courteſie; adding theſe words, *Recommend me to your Maſter; go in a good hour, but return no more.*

He ſees the Spaniſh Gariſon depart; and what he ſaies to them.

The ſame day that he entred into *Paris*, the Cardinal *de Pelleve* Archbiſhop of *Sens*, a paſſionate Leaguer, expired in his Palace of *Sens*. The Cardinal of *Placentia*, Legat from the Pope, had ſafe-Conduct to retire home, but he died by the way. *Briſſac*, for recompence had the Staff of Marſhal, and a place of Honourable Counſellor to the Parliament: a favour very rare in that time. *D' O* was re-placed in his government of *Paris*, which he had had under *Henry* the third: but he enjoyed it not long, dying ſoon after. That part of the Parliament which was at *Tours* was recalled, and that which was at *Paris* re-enabled (for it had been interdicted) and both re-united to ſerve conjunctly the King.

Parliament at *Tours* recalled to *Paris.*

By noon of that day on which our *Henry* entred *Paris*, the City was every where peaceable; the Burgeſſes in a moment grew

The City rejoyce, and are peaceable.

familiar

Part III.

familiar with the Souldiers, the Artificers worked in their ſhops; In a word, the Calm was ſo profound, that nothing interrupted it, but the Ringing of the bells, the Bonfires and the Dances which were made through all the ſtreets, even till midnight. It is certain, that that which cauſed this joy and wonderful tranquillity, was the great opinion which the people had conceived of the generous goodneſs of this Prince, and the Commands he gave for the orderly government of his Souldiers.

Two worthy actions of the King.

There were two actions which he did the ſame day he entred *Paris*, worthy obſervation, proceeding from an admirable Juſtice, Goodneſs, and Policy.

The one of Juſtice.

The firſt was, that he ſuffered the Baggage of *la Noue*, one of his principal Chiefs, to be Arreſted at his entring into *Paris*, by the Serjeants, for the debts of his Father contracted in his ſervice; and when *la Noue* went to complain to him of this inſolence, he anſwered publickly: *La Noue, you muſt pay his debts, for I pay likewiſe thoſe of mine.* “But after “that, he took him apart, and gave him “ſome precious ſtones to engage to his creditors, in ſtead of the Baggage which they “had ſeized. Was there ever a more wonderful goodneſs, or more exact Juſtice?

The other of Policy.

The ſecond is, that the ſame evening he played at Cards with the Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier*, who was of the houſe of *Guiſe*, and the moſt vehement Leagueſs of the Party. What

Part III.

What could be ſeen of more Policy?

Reduction of *Rouen*, *Abbeville*, *Troyes*, *Sens*, &c.

After this reduction of *Paris*, the other Cities and their Governours haſtened likewiſe to conclude their Treaties. *Villars* made his for *Rouen*; ſo gaining to himſelf the Government in chief of this City and Bailiwick, and that of the Country of *Caux*, with the charge of Admiral, which he was to take out of the hands of *Byron*, for that of Marſhal of *France*, twelve hundred thouſand Livres of preſent money, and ſixty thouſand Livres of penſion. At the ſame time, or little after, *Montreuil* and *Abbeville* in *Picardy*, *Troyes* in *Champagne*, *Sens* and *Riom* in *Auvergne*, *Agen*, *Marmande*, and *Villeneuve d'Agenois* rendred themſelves obedient; and their Governours had all they could demand of the King. The City of *Poictiers*, and the Country thereabouts, treated likewiſe by means of its principal Magiſtrates; and the Marquis of *Elbeuf*, Governour for the League, ſeeing he could not hinder the Revolution, permitted himſelf to be drawn in with them, and compoſed with the King, who left him the Government of that Province.

La Capelle taken by *Mansfield*, and *Laon* by the King.

In the mean time, the Count *Mansfield* entred into *Picardy*, to endeavour to ſuſtain the League, which was in a very low condition, and took *la Capelle*. The King in revenge laid ſiege to *Laon*, and took it by capitulation, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the Duke of *Mayenne* to relieve it.

Balagny turns to the Kings

Balagny with his City of *Cambray*, renoun-

ced

[illegible] party with his City of *Cambray*.

[illegible] ced likewiſe the League, and promiſed fealty to the King, who had called himſelf Soveraign of that City, and had held it from the [illegible] of the Duke of *Alanzon*, had uſurped it from the Baron of *Inchi*, who in the great Rebellion of the Low Countries, had quitted the obedience of *Spain*, to embrace his party. In like

Reduction of *Amiens*, *Beauvais*, & *Peronne*.

manner, the Cities of *Beauvais* and *Peronne* renounced the League, as did likewiſe that of *Amiens*, ſhaking off the yoak of the Duke of *Aumale*: There reſting to that party in *Picardy*, only *Soiſſons*, *la Fere* and *Ham*. And

The Duke of *Guiſe* compounds with the King.

which was much more, the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhook off the Duke of *Mayenne*, and brought the Cities of *Reims*, *Vitry*, and *Mezieres* under the Kings obedience; who in recompence of it, gave him the Government of *Provence*, from which he was obliged to withdraw the Duke of *Eſpernon*, becauſe the People, the Parliament, and the Nobility, had taken Arms againſt him.

And likewiſe the Duke of *Lorrain*.

The Duke of *Lorrain* likewiſe, who negotiated his peace by the intermiſſion of *Baſſompierre*, concluded it the twenty ſixth of *November*. But neither the example of this Duke, chief of the houſe of *Lorrain*, nor

The Duke of *Mayenne* remains alone, and retires into *Bourgongne*.

the general revolution of that party, could oblige the Duke of *Mayenne* to withdraw himſelf from that danger, wherein he was ready to he overwhelmed: he could not abandon that fair title of Lieutenant General of the Crown, but flattered himſelf with the

hopes

hoped that the aſſiſtance of Spain might again give him the upper hand. He was retired into his Government of Burgundy, [illegible] that remained yet not entirely [illegible]; though to keep to himſelf *Dijon*, he was forced to make uſe of an odious cruelty, in cutting off the head of the Mayor, and another, who laboured to reduce it to the Kings ſervice.

Part II.

Now ſince it was the *Spaniards* who maintained him in his obſtinacy, and who made War againſt the King in his name; it was propoſed and agreed in the Councel, to aſſault them with an open War; to the end that being imployed at their own homes, they might loſe the deſire and leaſure of coming to diſquiet the King in his. For they not only aſſaulted him by force of Arms, and by practices which encouraged the people in Rebellion; but moreover they would have had his life, and endeavoured to murther him, by baſe and execrable waies. They contrived or favoured many conſpiracies againſt his Sacred perſon, which were well diſcovered. Thoſe two which made moſt noiſe, was that of one *Peter Barriere*, and that of *John Caſtel*.

1595. The King declares war againſt the *Spaniards*.

Two attempts on his perſon.

The firſt was a Souldier aged about twenty ſeven years, who being diſcovered at *Melun*, in the year one thouſand five hundred ninety three, as he ſought the execution of his deteſtable blow, was condemned to have his right hand burned, holding the Knife with which he ſhould have ſtruck the King; and

Of *Peter Barriere*,

Part II. to have his fleſh torn off with burning Pincers, and to be broken on the Wheel alive.

and of John Caſtel.

The ſecond was a young Scholar aged about eighteen years, ſon of a Merchant-Draper of *Paris*, keeping Shop before the Palace: this villain about the end of the year fifteen hundred ninety four, having thruſt himſelf with the Courtiers into the Chamber of the fair *Gabriella*, where the King was, would have ſtruck him with a Knife into the belly; but by good fortune the King then bowing to ſalute ſome one, the blow chanced on his face only, piercing his upper lip, and breaking a Tooth. It was not known for the preſent who had ſtruck it: but the Count of *Soiſſons* ſeeing this young man affrighted, ſtopt him by the arme. He impudently confeſſed that he had given the blow, and maintained that he ought to do it. The Parliament condemned him to have his right hand burned, his fleſh torn off with red-hot Pincers, and after to be torn in pieces by four horſes. This deteſtable Parricide not ſhewing any ſign of pain; ſo much had they imprinted in his ſpirit, that he would offer a Sacrifice acceptable to God, by taking out of the world a Prince relapſed and Excommunicate. The Father of this miſerable villain was baniſhed, his houſe before the Palace demoliſhed, and a Pyramide erected in its place.

Jeſuites exiled the kingdom.

The *Jeſuites* under whom this Miſcreant had ſtudied, were likewiſe accuſed for having instructed him with this pernicious Doctrine; and they having many enemies, the Parliament baniſhed the whole Society out of the Kingdom by the ſame Arreſt of their Scholar. Yet theſe Fathers were not wanting, notwithſtanding that the times were contrary to them, to labour to ſuſtain their honour; but writ many things to juſtifie themſelves againſt their charge. And truly thoſe who were not their enemies, did not at all believe the Society culpable; ſo that ſome years after the King revoked the decree of Parliament, and recalled them, as we ſhall mention hereafter.

The ſucceſs of the War declared againſt *Spain*, was much different from that which the King maintained againſt the League; and made it apparent, "That it is another thing "to aſſault a ſtranger equal in puiſſance, over "whom nothing is to be gained but by force "of Arms, then to have to do with rebelli-"ous Subjects, and in ones proper Country, "where intrigues and intelligences make "more then one half of the enterprizes.

This year the Cities of *Beaune*, of *Auton*, and of *Auſſonne* reduced themſelves under the Kings obedience. Thoſe of *Maſcon* and *Auxerre* were returned the year before. The City of *Dijon* followed their example, and fortified it ſelf againſt the Caſtle which *Byron* went to beſiege. But in the mean time the Conſtable of *Caſtile* deſcended with a great Army of *Millanois* into *Bourgongne*

Reduction of *Beaune*, *Auxerre*, and *Dijon*, &c.

Part II. by the *Franche Comté*, and passed the *Saone* at *Gray*, with the Duke of *Mayenne*.

The King goes into *Bourgogne* against the *Spanish* Army.

The King who was gone into that Country, had the assurance to advance as far as *Fountain Françoise*; it was there with only fifteen hundred men, he made head against that great Army, and did an exploit of War scarce imaginable. *Villars* and *Sanson*, two of the Principal Chiefs of the enemies Army, charged furiously on his Troops; *Villars* charged a body commanded by the Marshal of *Byron*, and *Sanson* another on the side of it: they made them both give ground and retreat, flying within sight of that of the King. It was reported that *Villars* knowing he was there so puissant is the name of a King, durst not attack him, but retired on the left hand; but *Sanson* was not so happy; for the King having with him but one hundred horse, but all chosen Gentlemen of note, and mounted to advantage, with his sword in his hand, he fell amongst them and cut them in pieces. *Sanson* endeavouring to rally his people lost his life, by acquiring no small honour.

Battail of *Fountain-Françoise*,

where the King shews his valour; but is in danger of his life.

The King was in so great danger in this fight, that he said himself, "That in other occasi-"ons wherein he had been engaged, he had "fought for Victory, but that in this he had "fought for his Life."

The *Spanish* Army retire.

Having therefore made the Constable by this occasion see in what manner he was to act, he so much abashed his courage, that he durst enterprize nothing, but a little after retired. The Duke of *Mayenne* likewise despairing of such ill successe, and not knowing longer where to hide his head, had resolved to retire to *Savoy*, from whence he would send to demand safe-conduct into *Spain*, to give an account of his Actions to King *Philip* the second. But the goodness of the King took care to divert him from this Precipice, and to lay open to him ways of Accommodation. He to this effect sent to seek *Lignerac* his Confident, entertained him of the good will he always had for that Duke, testified to him that he pitied him, and assured him, that he would be always disposed to receive him into his favour, permitting him to retire in all safety to *Chalons* on the *Saone*, till they could finish a Treaty of Accord.

The Duke of Mayenne despairing, would retire into Savoy.

The King hath pity of him, and offers him an accommodation, and place of retreat.

The Duke accepted this favour, and having understood that the Pope was disposed to receive the King into the Church, he demanded a general Truce for the rest of his party.

The greatest part of the Kings Council, who considered the Delays and Artifices which he had for six years used, having begun fifty Treaties without ever concluding any, advised that the King should grant him no intermission, but pursue him to the utmost. But the prudence and goodness of the King conformed not with this Sentiment, because he was not ignorant of two Maximes, which are most true ones; the one, *That Kings may always when they please reduce the most rebellious* to their ruine; the other, *That it is very dangerous to make great perſons deſperate; eſpecially perſons of the quality of the Duke of Mayenne.* And for theſe Reaſons, of his proper motion contrary to the advice of his Council, he granted him a Truce. That which followed after, demonſtrated well that this ſage Prince had more knowledge then all his Miniſters, and how prejudicial it would have been to his intereſts to do the contrary.

He grants him a truce.

In the mean time, of thoſe three Cities which we have ſaid remained to the League in *Picardy*, to wit, *La Fere*, *Ham* and *Soiſſons*, the Governour of the firſt, named *Colas*, had delivered it to the *Spaniards*; and *d'Orvilliers* had done the ſame with *Ham*. However, this laſt remained not theirs; *Humieres*, one of the braveſt Gentlemen of thoſe times, came; and at the ſame hour ſo hotly aſſaulted it, that after a long and bloody defence, they were hewen in pieces: but *Humieres* was killed, and more then two hundred brave Gentlemen with him.

La Fere & *Ham* delivered to the *Spaniards*; who are cut in pieces at *Ham*. *Humieres* killed.

This loſs did in ſuch manner excite the indignation of the Loyal *French* againſt the *Leaguers*, that the greateſt part of them deſpairing, fled into the Low-Countries, and into *Spain*; where they found at firſt a favourable Reception, and good Employments, by which they did very great miſchief to *France*. Amongſt others was a valiant Captain named *Roſny*, who, imagining that they would extend their utmoſt rigour upon ſuch, who not being

Many Leaguers deſpairing, caſt themſelves into the *Spaniards* arms: Amongſt others, *Roſny*, who cauſeth the taking of *Dourlens*.

being Governour, had no places to buy their peace with, reſolved to make the War ſo well, that the *Spaniards* ſhould have cauſe to recompenſe him, as the King to redeem him.

This was he who inſpired the Count of *Fuentes* with the deſigne to beſiege *Cambray*, after he had forced *Catelet*, and who perſwaded him to facilitate this great Enterprize to take *Dourlens* firſt, to the end the *French* might not bring an Army to relieve it. It was likewiſe by his counſel that *Fuentes* went to meet the Duke of *Nevers*, the Marſhal of *Bouillon*, and the Admiral *Villars*, who came to the relief of *Dourlens*; that he fought them, and defeated them with a great ſlaughter of the *French* Nobility, and cauſed *Villars* to be ſlain in cold blood, one of the braveſt men of his time. Afterwards returning to *Cambray*, he took it by Famine, and deſpoiled *Balagny* of his pretended Principality.

Battel of *Dourlens*.

Villars ſlain

Cambray taken by the *Spaniards*.

This News moſt important and long time expected, comforted the King for theſe two great loſſes of *Dourlens* and *Cambray*: which was, that he received advice, that the holy Father, paſſing by all thoſe difficulties which the *Spaniards* formed, had granted his Abſolution on the ſixteenth of *September*, by the Negotiation and purſuits of *d'Oſſat* and *du Perron*, his Procurers in the Court of *Rome*, who were afterwards, upon his Recommendation, honoured with Cardinal Caps.

The Pope abſolves the King.

After this, the Duke of *Mayenne*, having no more Excuſes, nor more Hopes longer to ſub-

The Duke of *Mayenne* in the end makes his [illegible] Treaty with the King.

[illegible] It was very late; and he could not well expect other than the rigour, if the Generosity of the King had not been greater than his obstinacy. [illegible] the fair *Gabriell* [illegible] officiously [illegible] he sued for his pardon; and being [illegible] in hopes to create her self friends and supporters to come to the marriage of the King, to which she aspired, did not a little assist to obtain a most favourable Accommodation.

Hath advantagious Conditions

Certainly the terms of the Edict which the King granted him, and the Conditions are so honourable, that never Subject had greater Advantages from any King of France: but they had been greater, if that before his party had been so much ruined, [illegible] for those great Cities who yet held him as their Chief, and whereby this means he might still have kept firm to his interests.

He comes to *Monceaux* to salute the King.

Sometime after, he came to *Monceaux* to salute the King; who seeing him coming along an Alley where he was walking, advanced some paces towards him with all Alacrity and good Countenance possible; and thrice straitly embracing him, assured him that he esteemed him so absolute a man of Honour, that he doubted not of his word; treating him with as much freedom, as if he had always been his most faithful servant. "The Duke surprized "with his goodness, said at his departure, "That it was now only that the King had "compleatly vanquished him. And he ever after very well remained in the duty of a most faithful Subject as [illegible] the King [illegible] self a good Prince, and [illegible] the Generosity of the King [illegible] About the same time that this Duke had concluded his Treaty, and obtained an Edict from the King which confirmed it, the Duke of Genevois his Brother by the Mothers side, who was called Marquis of St. Sorlin while the other Duke of *Nemours* his elder Brother was living, by the means of his Mother, reconciled himself likewise to the King, and brought under his Obedience some little places which they yet held in *Lyonnois* and in *Forest*.

[illegible] Treaty with the King.

The Duke of *Nemours* reconciled likewise.

His elder Brother, one of the most noble and generous Courages was ever known, died the year before of a strange malady, which made him vomit through the mouth, and through all his pores, even to the last drop of his blood. Were it that this malady happened to him out of his extream grief when he was shut up in the Castle of *Pierre-Encise*, to hear of the surrender of *Vienne* which was his surest retreat, or that it was caused by a sharp and scalding poyson reported to be given him by those who feared his resentment; he died without being married, and his younger Brother, of whom we spoke, was Father to those *Messieurs de Nemours* whose deaths we beheld in the years

His elder Brother died of a strange disease.

1596\.

The Duke of *Joyeuse*, who after the death of his younger Brother slain in the Battel of *Villemur* near *Montauban*, had quitted his habit of Capuchin to make himself chief of the

The Duke of *Joyeuse* makes his Treaty with the King.

League

Part. II.

League in *Languedoc*. And he having maintained the City of *Tolouſe* and the Neighbouring Countries on his party, took likewiſe this time to make his Accommodation, and obtained very favourable Conditions, by the means of Cardinal *de Joyeuſe* his other Brother; amongſt other things, he had the Staff of Marſhal of *France*. The Lord of *Boiſdauſin* had the ſame recompence, though he had no more than two little places in *Mayne* and *Anjou*, to wit, *Sablé* and *Caſtle-Gontier*; the King granting him this good Treatment, rather in Conſideration of his Perſon than his Places.

And the Lord of *Boiſdauſin.*

Reduction of *Marſeilles.*

There were now no more to reduce, beſides the Duke of *Mercœur* and *Marſeilles*. This City was governed by *Charles de Caſaux*, Conſul, and by *Lewis d'Aix* the *Viguier* or Judge. As theſe two men were upon the point to deliver it to the *Spaniards*, a Burgeſs named *Libertat*, with a Band of his friends, cauſed the Inhabitants to riſe againſt them, and having killed *Caſaux*, and driven out *Lewis d'Aix*, put it in full Liberty under the Obedience of the King.

The King grants a truce to the Duke of *Mercœur.*

As for the Duke of *Mercœur*, the King granted him a prolongation of the Truce, becauſe he was not in capacity at preſent to go ſo ſoon to diſpoſſeſs him of the reſt of *Britany*, being much hindred by the Siege of *la Fere*, where he was in perſon, and where he had made little progreſs in three or four moneths.

1596.

The Arch-duke *Albert* takes *Calais.*

Moreover, it happened when he leaſt thought of it, that the Arch-Duke *Albert*, who commanded the *Spaniſh* Army, incited by the counſels of that *Roſny* of whom we have ſpoken, came to fall upon *Calais*; and that *Roſny*, who was a great Captain, having at firſt taken the Forts of *Riſban* and *Nieulay*, the *Spaniards* forced the place on the 24. of *April*; and put all to the ſword. A little after, the King took *la Fere*, which ſurrendred for want of Victuals. The *Spaniards* having made the Treaty, would have no Hoſtages from him; ſaying, That they knew he was a generous Prince, and of good credit: a Teſtimony ſo much the more glorious for him, becauſe coming from the mouth of his enemies.

Taking of *la Fere* by the King.

The grief which he had for the loſs of *Calais*, was redoubled by that of the Cities of *Guines* and *Ardres*, which were likewiſe taken by the induſtry and valour of *Roſny*, who had done many ſuch other exploits, if ſome months after, he had not been killed, happily for *France*, at the Siege of *Hulſt* near to *Gaunt*.

The Arch-duke takes likewiſe *Guines* and *Ardres*.

Now the noiſe of theſe four or five great loſſes received one upon another, caſt ſome terrour into the hearts of the people; and the Emiſſaries of *Spain* excited as much as they could new ſeeds of diviſion in their ſpirits; ſerving themſelves to that purpoſe of all ſorts of pretexts, but above all, of that of the oppreſſion of the people. Truely it was great; but it was cauſed by the pillages of War, and by the neceſſity of Affairs, rather then the Kings fault; who had no greater deſire then to procure the eaſe of his Subjects, as we ſhall ſee.

[illegible] This caſt him into a great affliction and trouble, becauſe he had no Treaſure to continue the War; and he foreſaw by the murmurs already excited, that if he cruſhed the people more, he ſhould raiſe againſt himſelf a new tempeſt. In this trouble, he had recourſe to that great Remedy accuſtomed to be practiſed when France is in danger; which is, the Convocation of the Eſtates: but becauſe the preſſing neceſſity gave him not time to aſſemble them in a full body, he called onely the chiefs of the Peers of his Eſtate, of the Prelates, and of the Nobility, with the Officers of Juſtice, and of the Revenues.

The King to have mony, calls an aſſembly of the Chiefs to *Rouen*.

The manner of their ſitting.

He deſired that the Aſſembly ſhould be held at *Rouen*, in the great Hall of the Abby of St. *Ouen*, in the midſt of which, he was ſeated in a Chair elevated in form of a Throne, with a Cloth and Canopy of Eſtate. On his ſides were the Prelates and Lords; behinde, the four Secretaries of Eſtate; beneath him, the firſt Preſidents of the Soveraign Courts, and the Deputies of the Officers of Juſtice, and of the Revenues. He made his Overtures to them by a Speech worthy a true King, who
"ought to believe that his Greatneſs and Au-
"thority conſiſts not barely in an abſolute
"power, but in the good of his Eſtate, and
"in the ſafety of his people.

His Speech

If I would glory in paſſing (ſaid he to them) *for an excellent Orator, I ſhould have brought hither rather good words than good will;*

but my ambition tends to something higher then well speaking; I aspire to the glorious Titles of Redeemer and Restorer of France. Already by the favour of Heaven, by the counsels of my faithful Servants, and by the swords of my brave and generous Nobility, (from which I distinguish not my Princes; the Quality of Gentleman being the fairest Title we possess) I have delivered it from Slavery and Ruine. I desire at present to restore it to its former force, and to its ancient splendour. Participate, my Subjects, in this second glory, as you have participated in the first. I have not called you hither as my Predecessors have done, to oblige you blindly to approve my wills; I have assembled you to receive your counsels, to believe them, to follow them; in a word, to put my self in Guardianship under your hands. This is a desire which seldome possesses Kings, Grey-beards, and Victorious like my self: but the love I bear my Subjects, and the extream desire I have to conserve my Estate, makes me finde all things facile and honourable.

The Assembly; moved even to the bottom of their hearts by such tender words, laboured with affection to finde wherewith to continue the War: and to this effect they ordained should be gathered one years payment of all Officers Salaries; and that for two years only there should be be imposed one Sol per Livre on all which entred into walled Cities, except only Corn; which is the nourishment

The Assembly grant money for the War.

This laſt means cauſed much trouble in the Provinces beyond the Loire: But Roſny, whom the King had ſome months before made Superintendent, no leſs able then faithful, as we ſhall ſpeak otherwhere, joyned to this ſtock a great ſum of money, which the Receivers had diverted, and which he made return to the Kings Coffers.

King of *Spain* deſires the peace.

In the mean time, the King of *Spain* finding the forces both of his body and minde to diminiſh by a languor, which after degenerated into a horrible malady, feared leſt his weakneſs ſhould cauſe Revolts in his Countries ſo diſtant one from the other. Moreover, he had expended his Revenues, and paſſionately deſired to give the Low-Countries to his deareſt Daughter *Iſabella*: and for theſe Reaſons had made known to the holy Father, that he deſired peace, and his Holineſs had ſent the General of the *Cordeliers* to diſpoſe him more particularly to it.

1597.

Surprizal of *Amiens* by the *Spaniards*, retards the peace.

But now when ſome progreſs was made in it, there happened an accident, which retarded it for more then a year. *Hernand Teillo* Governour of *Dourlens* for the *Spaniard*, being advertized of the evil order which the Burgeſſes of *Amiens* kept in the Guard of their City, ſurprized it one morning about nine of the Clock when they were at Sermon, it being Lent-time, having cauſed the Gate to be obſtructed with a Cart laden with Nuts, of which a ſack was purpoſely ſpilt, to amuſe the Souldiers of the Guard. This troubleſome news aſtoniſhed the King ſo much the more, becauſe he was at preſent rejoycing and divertizing himſelf at *Paris*. He had “given order that all important packets ſhould be brought directly to him, and not to others; and that they ſhould bring them at what hours ſoever: ſo that being in a profound ſleep after dancing a Ball, a Currier came to waken him, to tell him this accident.

1597.

He immediately leapt out of bed, and ſent for three or four of his greateſt confidents to conſult with them. They all judged that it arrived in a very unhappy conjuncture, becauſe the Duke of *Mercœur* was powerful in *Brittany*, the reſt of the factions being yet concealed under their aſhes, the *Hugonots* making *Cabals* or ſecret Councels, the conſternation of *Paris* being very great, which beheld it ſelf by this means become a Frontier. But this Heroick courage whom ſo many perils could not affright, was not ſtartled by this; on the contrary, he reſolved to encounter it at firſt, and go immediately to inveſt *Amiens*, before the *Spaniards* were longer ſetled in it.

The King reſolves to beſiege *Amiens*.

His greateſt Captains were not of this advice: but notwithſtanding that, he who had greater knowledge and more conſtancy then them all, enterpriſed it couragiouſly, not ſo much, ſaid he, out of opinion of humane means, as out of the confi-

dence

[illegible] many [illegible] his person [illegible] of the [illegible] Religious orders, whom an [illegible] the King of *Spain*, as it was [illegible], would have induced to kill him; and very [illegible] Cabals which the mony of the same King upheld at *Paris*; which observed all his [illegible], and had designed one day to seize his person in his Castle of St. Germain in [illegible].

The people contribute willingly, and the Leaguers serve him well.

Moreover, his people answered as they ought, to his Paternal affection, not denying him any thing that he demanded to hasten the siege; and all the Leaguers desiring to testifie to him their resentments for all his goodnesses, served him so faithfully and vigorously in this occasion, whilst others wavered, and kept their stations, that he was obliged to say, that he acknowledged that the greatest part of that people hated not his person, but only the *Hugonot* Religion.

The Arch-Duke comes to relieve *Amiens*.

The siege was long difficult and doubtful; and if the King of *Spain* would have imployed all his power, the King could never have succeeded in it: but he was become very Melancholy; he desired onely repose, and cared no more for Conquests; so that he gave not any of those assistances which the Arch-Duke demanded. The Arch-Duke [illegible] however to use the greatest endeavour he could ſuddain raiſe the ſiege [illegible] before the Queen [illegible] great forces [illegible] pected, which gave the [illegible] and diſorder, that [illegible] ſerve himſelf of the occaſion, and [illegible] in conſultation, he [illegible] three thouſand men into the City, which he had deſtined for it.

His arrival [illegible] Army in diſorder.

The King returning from Hunting, whither he [illegible] gone, found a general fear throughout all his Army, and likewiſe [illegible] of his principal Chiefs quite daunted. In ſo great a danger neither his heart nor his head failed him; he diſſembled his fear, gave Orders without [illegible] and ſhewed himſelf every where with a chearful countenance, and with diſcourſes as reſolute as after a victory. He made his forces nimbly draw into the field of battail, which he had choſen three daies before, eight hundred paces from the lines. From this place having conſidered the excellent order of the *Spaniſh* Army, the little aſſurance of his, and the weakneſs of his Poſt, where he had not had leaſure to fortifie himſelf, he was a little moved, and doubted of the ſucceſs of the day. When leaning on the Pummel of his Saddle, with his hat in his hand, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, he uttered theſe words with a loud voice: *Oh Lord, if it be thou who wilt puniſh me as my faults deſerve, I offer my head to thy Juſtice; ſpare not the Guilty: but Lord, for thy holy mercy*

The King re-aſſures them.

Words worthy of a good and Chriſtian King.

O

cie, take rather pity of the poor Kingdom; and ſmite not the flock for the offence of the ſhepherd.

It cannot be expreſſed of what efficacy theſe words were; they were in a moment carried through the whole Army, and it ſeemed as if ſome vertue from heaven had given courage to the *French*.

The Arch-Duke retires to *Flanders*.

The Arch-Duke therefore finding them reſolved, and in good Countenance, durſt not paſs farther. Some other attempts he afterwards made, which did not ſucceed; and he retired by night into the Countrey of *Artois*, where he diſmiſſed his Army. In fine, *Hernand Teillo* being ſlain by a Muſquet-ſhot, the beſieged capitulated, and the King eſtabliſhed Governour in the City the Seigneur *de Vic*, a man of great order and exact diſcipline, who by his command began to build a Citadel there.

The King retakes *Amiens*.

The King marches to the gates of *Arras*, and dares the *Spaniards*.

At his departure from *Amiens*, the King led his Army to the very Gates of *Arras* to viſit the Arch-Duke; he remained three days in battalia, and ſaluted the City with ſome Volleys of Cannon. Afterward ſeeing that nothing appeared, he retired towards *France* ill ſatisfied, ſaid he gallantly, with the courteſie of the *Spaniards*, who would not advance ſo much as one pace to receive him, but had with an ill grace refuſed the honour he did them.

The Marſhal of *Byron* ſerved him extraordinarily at this ſiege; and the King, when he was returned to *Paris*, and that thoſe of the City gave him a reception truly Royal, he told them, ſhewing them the Marſhal; *Gentlemen, ſee there the Marſhal de Byron, whom I do willingly preſent both to my friends and to my enemies.*

There reſted now no appearance of the League in *France*, but onely the Duke of *Merceur*, yet keeping a corner of *Brittany*. The King had often granted him Truces, and offered him great Conditions; but he was ſo intoxicated with an ambition to make himſelf Duke of that Country, that he found out daily new fancies to delay the concluding one; imagining that time might afford him ſome favourable revolution, and flattering himſelf with I know not what prophecies, which aſſured him that the King ſhould dye in two years.

The Duke of *Merceur* daily delays concluding his Treaty.

In fine, the King wearied with ſo many protractions, turns his head that way, reſolving to chaſtiſe his obſtinacy as it deſerved. He had been loſt without remedy, if he had not been adviſed to ſave himſelf, by offering his only daughter to the eldeſt ſon of the Fair *Gabriella* Dutcheſs of *Beaufort*; who is at this day Duke of *Vendoſme*.

The King goes into *Brittany*, reſolved to chaſtiſe him.

His Deputies could at firſt obtain nothing elſe, but that he ſhould immediately depart out of *Brittany*, and deliver thoſe places which he held; which done, his Majeſty would grant him oblivion for all paſt, and receive him into his favour. But the King

He gives his daughter to the Kings natural ſon, and by this means makes his agreement.

being of a tender heart, and deſiring to advance his natural ſon by ſo rich and noble a marriage, granted him a very advantagious Edict, which was verified in the Parliament, as all thoſe of the Chiefs of the League were. This accommodation was made at *Angiers*, the Contract of marriage paſſed at *Angiers*, and the alliances celebrated with the ſame Magnificence, as if he had been a Legitimate ſon of *France*. He was four years old, and the Virgin ſix.

By reaſon of this marriage, the King gives his ſon the Dukedom of *Vendoſme.*

The King made gift to him of the Dutchy of *Vendoſme*, by the ſame right that other Dukes hold them; which the Parliament verified, not without great repugnancy; and with this condition, that it ſhould be no preſident for the other goods of the Kings patrimony, which by the Laws of the Realm were eſteemed reunited to the Crown from the time of his coming to it.

1598.

He goes to *Nantes* and *Rennes.*

From *Angiers* the King would paſs into *Brittany*. He ſtayed ſome time at *Nantes*; from thence he went to *Rennes*, where the Eſtates were held: he paſſed about two months in this City in feaſts, joys, and divertiſements; but yet ceaſing not ſeriouſly to imploy himſelf to haſten the expedition of many affairs.

For it is to be obſerved, that this great Prince employed himſelf all the mornings in ſerious things, and dedicated the reſt of the day to his divertiſements; yet in ſuch manner, that he would not readily quit his greateſt pleaſures, when there was "any thing of importance to be acted; and "he ſtill gave expreſs orders not to defer the "advertiſing him of ſuch things.

Part II.

He puts good order in the Province.

He took away a great many ſuperfluous Gariſons in this Country, ſuppreſſed many impoſts, which the Tyranny of many particular perſons had introduced during the War; disbanded all thoſe pilfering Troops, which laid waſte the plain Country; ſent forth the Provoſts into the Campagne, againſt the theeves which were in great number; reſtored Juſtice to its authority, which Licenſe had weakned; and gathered four Millions, of which the Eſtates of the Country, of their own free will, levyed eight hundred thouſand crowns. So he laboured profitably for theſe two ends, which he ought moſt to intend, to wit, the eaſe of his people, and the increaſe of his treaſures. "Two things which are incompatible "when a Prince is not Juſt and a good manager, or lets his mony be managed by others "without taking diligent care of his accounts.

This was a calme of Peace reſtored to France within it ſelf, after ten years Civil Wars, by a particular grace of God on this Kingdome, by the labour, diligence, goodneſs, and valour of the beſt King that ever was. And in the mean time a peace was ſeriouſly endeavoured between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*. The two Kings equally wiſhed it: but *Henry*, becauſe he paſſionately deſired to eaſe his people, and to let them

Endeavours for a general peace, and the two Kings wiſh it.

regain their forces, after ſo many bloody and violent agitations; and *Philip*, becauſe he found himſelf incline to the end of his days, and that his Son *Philip* the third was not able to ſuſtain the burthen of a War againſt ſo great a King.

The Deputies met at *Vervin*.

The Deputies of one part and the other had been aſſembled for three months in the little City of *Vervins*, with the Popes *Nuntio*. Thoſe of *France*, were *Pompone* of *Believre*, and *Nicholas Bruſlard*, both Counſellours of State, and the laſt likewiſe Preſident of the Parliament; who acting agreeably, and without jealouſies, determined on the moſt difficult Articles in very little time; and according to the order they received from the King, ſigned the peace on the ſecond of *May*. The 12. of the ſame month it was publiſhed at *Vervin*.

Subſtance of the Treaty of *Vervin*.

It would be too long to inſert here all the Articles of the Treaty: I ſhall ſay only, that it was agreed, that the *Spaniards* ſhould ſurrender all the places they had taken in *Picardy*, and *Blavet* which they yet held in *Brittany*: That the Duke of *Savoy* ſhould be comprehended in this Treaty; provided he delivered to the King the City of *Berry*, which he held in *Provence*. And for the Marqueſate of *Saluces*, which that Duke had taken from *France*, towards the latter end of the Reign of *Henry* the third, that it ſhould be remitted to the judgement of the holy Father, who was to decide that controverſie in a year.

The Publication of the Peace was made on the ſame day through all the Cities of *France*; and the Low-Countries, with thoſe rejoycings, whoſe rumour ſpread to the utmoſt bounds of Chriſtendom: but none ſo truly reſented a joy for it, as our *Henry*, who was accuſtomed to ſay, "That it being a "thing Barbarous, and contrary to the laws of "Nature and Chriſtianity, to make War for "the love of War, a Chriſtian Prince ought "never refuſe peace, if it were not abſo"lutely diſadvantagious to him.

The peace publiſhed.

his Divertiſements, he made his moſt neceſſary and moſt important employs his principal pleaſure.

He was a Souldier by conſtraint, but a Politician by inclination.

In the two firſt parts of his Life which we have ſeen, he was by conſtraint a Man of War and of the Field; in this laſt a Man of Counſel and a great Politician: but in both, invincible and indefatigable.

It is neceſſary a King ſhould know Wars but beſides that, there are other functions of Royalty. What thoſe

The true duty of a Soveraign, conſiſts principally in protecting his Subjects: he muſt both defend them againſt Strangers, and repreſs the [illegible] Rebels. It is for this purpoſe that he hath the power of Arms in his hands, and that it is advantagious to him perfectly to underſtand the myſtery of War: but that comprehends but a part of his Functions; and we may truly ſay, that it is neither the moſt neceſſary nor the moſt ſatisfactory. "For beſides that he may manage "his Wars by his Lieutenants, who doubts

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The Third PART
OF THE
LIFE
OF
Henry the *Great*.

Briefly containing what he did after the
Peace of *Vervin*, made in the year
1598. unto his death, which happened in the year 1610.

1598. The third part of the Life of *Henry* the great, more calm and more peaceable then the others.

Hitherto we have followed the Fortune of our *Henry* through ways craggy and intricated, over Rocks and Precipices, during times very troubleſome and full of ſtorms and tempeſts: at preſent we are about to trace it through paths more eaſie and fair, in the ſweetneſs of calm and quiet peace; where however his Vertue ſlept not in his repoſe, but appeared always active; while his great Soul was employed without ceaſing in the true functions of Royalty; and where, in fine, among his Divertiſements, he made his moſt neceſſary and moſt important employs, his principal pleaſures.

In the two firſt parts of his Life which we have ſeen, he was by conſtraint a Man of War and of the Field, in this laſt, a Man of Counſel and a great Politician: but in both, invincible and indefatigable.

He was a Souldier by conſtraint, but a Polititian by inclination.

The true duty of a Soveraign, conſiſts principally in protecting his Subjects: he muſt both defend them againſt Strangers, and repreſs the Factions and Attempts of Rebels. It is for this purpoſe that he hath the power of Arms in his hands, and that it is advantagious to him perfectly to underſtand the myſtery of War. But that comprehends but a part of his Functions; and we may truely ſay, that it is neither the moſt neceſſary nor the moſt ſatisfactory. “For beſides that he may manage “his Wars by his Lieutenants, who doubts “him to be the moſt happy Prince, that go-“verns his Affairs in ſuch a manner, that he “hath no need of his Sword, but is powerful “enough to diſtribute Juſtice, puniſh the “wicked, and to honour and reward deſer-“ving men, to confer graces and recompen-“ces, to keep good order, and conſerve the “Laws; to maintain his Provinces in tran-“quillity, ſuſtain his Reputation and great-“neſs by his good Conduct, inform himſelf “often and diligently of all that paſſes, make “himſelf to be feared by his Enemies, and re-“ſpected by his Allies, and like a Soveraign,

It is neceſſary a King ſhould know War; but beſides that, there are other functions of Royalty. What thoſe functions are.

The third part of the Life of Henry the great, more calm, and more peaceable then the others.

“himſelf preſide in his Councils, receive
“Ambaſſadours, and anſwer them; diſpatch
“great Affairs by Treaties and Negotiations;
“prevent all ill, and deprive wicked perſons
“and enemies of their power to hurt; encou-
“rage Traffick and the Studies of Sciences
“and Noble Arts; to make his Kingdome
“rich, flouriſhing and abundant; to fetch
“wealth from all the corners of the earth;
“but above all, to procure the glory and ſer-
“vice of God, ſo that his Kingdome may be
“as a Paradiſe of Delights, and a Harbour of
“Felicity. Theſe are, in my opinion, Em-
“ploys worthy a potent King, a Chriſtian and
“wiſe King; who, being the Shepherd of his
“people, (as *Homer* often calls the great King
“*Agamemnon*) ought not onely know how
“to drive away the Wolves, I mean, make
“War; but likewiſe underſtand how to ma-
“nage his Flock, preſerve them from Diſeaſes,
“fatten and multiply them.

The Peace ſworn by the King and Arch-Duke *Albertus*.

The Peace being publiſhed with an incredible joy of the *French*, *Flemins* and *Spaniards*, it was ſolemnly ſworn by the King on the one and twentieth of *June*, in the Church of *Noſtre-Dame*, on the Croſs and the holy Evangeliſts, in the preſence of the Duke of *Arſcot* and the Admiral of *Arragon*, Ambaſſadors from the King of *Spain* for that purpoſe: and afterwards Cardinal Arch-Duke *Albert*, Governour of the Low-Countries for that King, ſwore it on the ſix and twentieth of the ſame moneth, in the City of *Bruxels*, the

Marſhal of *Byron* aſſiſting; whom but lately *Henry* had newly honoured with the Quality of Duke and Peer, confirmed in Parliament, as well to give more ſplendour to that Embaſſy, as to recompenſe thoſe great ſervices that Lord had rendred him in his Wars.

Byron made Duke and Peer, goes to ſwear the peace in the *Netherlands*.

In this Voyage the *Spaniards* ſpared neither Careſſes nor Prayers to this new Duke, to inſpire him with Pride and Vanity, and intoxicated him in ſuch manner with a good opinion of himſelf, that it put a fancie in his head, that the King ought him more then he would ever know how to give him; and that if his vertue were not ſufficiently honoured in *France*, he would finde other places where it ſhould be ſet at a higher price. That which afterwards produced very ill effects.

The *Spaniards* poſſeſs him with pride and preſumption.

Many among the *French*, who know not truely the pitiful eſtate wherein the King of *Spain* and his Affairs were, could not comprehend why this Prince ſhould buy the peace at ſo dear a rate as the ſurrendry of ſix or ſeven ſtrong places; and amongſt others, *Calais* and *Blavet*, which might be called the Keys of *France*. On the contrary, the *Spaniards*, who beheld their King as it were dying, his Treaſury waſted, the Low-Countries ſhattered in pieces, *Portugal* and his Lands in *Italy* on the point to revolt, the Son which he left a good Prince in truth, but who loved repoſe, were aſtoniſhed that the *French*, having ſo bravely re-taken *Amiens*, and re-united all their Forces after the Treaty of the Duke of

VVhat the *French* and what the *Spaniards* ſaid of the peace.

[illegible] had not pressed farther into the Low Countries; seeing that in all appearance he might either have carried them, or at least sorely shaken them. The King answered, “That if he had desired peace, it was not be-“cause he was weary of the inconveniences of “War, but to give leave to afflicted *Christen-“dome* to breath. That he knew well that “from the Conjuncture wherein things were, “he might have drawn great advantages; but “that God often overturns Princes in their “greatest Prosperities; and that a wise man “ought never, out of the opinion of so many “favourable events, be averse to a good accord, “nor trust himself too much on the appea-“rance of his present happiness, which may “change by a thousand unexpected Acci-“dents; it having often happened that a “man thrown down and wounded, hath kil-“led him who would have taken his “life.

Why the King made peace. Excellent words.

It was known in a little time, that King *Phi-lip* the second had more need of the peace than France; for his sickness was more then redoubled: he had for twenty five days continually a perpetual flux of blood through all the conduits of his body; a little before his death he had four Aposthumes broke in his Groin, from whence there issued a [illegible] Vermin, which all the diligence of his Officers could not [illegible] strange sickness, his constancy was won-

Strange sickness & death of *Philip* 2. of *Spain*.

wonderful; nor did he alter or abandon the reins of his Estate, until the last gasp of his Life. He took care before his death to treat of the marriage of his Son with *Margaret* Daughter to the Arch-Duke of *Gratz*, and that of his dear Daughter *Isabella*, with the Cardinal Arch-Duke *Albert*, of the same blood with her; and gave him for Dowry the Low-Countries, and County of *Bourgogne*, on condition of its Reversion if she died without issue.

Before his death, he takes care [illegible] his son and daughter.

He had already signed the Articles of the peace; but this mortal sickneſs permitted him not to give Oath to it with the same solemnities as the King and Arch-Duke had done. *Philip* the third his Son and Succeſsor acquitted himself of this Obligation on the one and twentieth of *May*, in the year 1601 in the City of *Valladolid*, in presence of the Count of *Rochepot* Ambaſsador of *France*.

His ſickneſs hinders his ſwearing to the peace.

His ſon *Philip* the 3. doth it after his death.

The licenſe of the War having for many years permitted miſchiefs with impunity, there were yet found a great number of Vagabonds, who believed it ſtill permitted them to take the Goods of others at pleaſure; and others there were, who thought they had right to do themſelves juſtice by their arms, not acknowledging any Laws but force. This obliged the King to begin the *Reformation* of the Eſtate by the Reeſtabliſhment of publick Security. To this effect, he forbad all carrying of Fire-arms to all perſons of what quality ſoever, upon pain of the Confiſcation of their

The King forbids the carrying of arms.

Arms and Horſes, and a Fine of two hundred Crowns for the firſt fault, and of Life without remiſſion for the ſecond; permitting all the world to arreſt any who carried them, except his light-horſemen, his *Gens d'Armes*, and the Guards of his body, which might bear them onely when they were in ſervice.

He diſmiſſes his Troops.

To the ſame purpoſe, and to eaſe the Country of the multitudes of his Souldiers, he diſmiſſed not onely the greateſt part of his new Troops, but likewiſe reduced the one half of his old. He reduced the Companies of the Ordinance to a very little number, and took off the Guards of the Governours of the Provinces, and Lieutenants of the King; not willing to ſuffer any whatſoever beſides himſelf to have that glorious mark of Soveraignty about their perſons.

The Wars had ſpoiled all Commerce, reduced Cities into Villages, Villages to ſmall Cots, and Lands to Deſerts: neverthelefs the Receivers conſtrained the poor Husband-men to pay Taxes for thoſe Fruits they had never gathered. The Cries of theſe miſerable people who had nothing but their Tongues to moan with, ſoftened in ſuch manner the very Entrails of ſo juſt and ſo good a King, that he made an Edict, by which he releaſed them of all they owed him for the time paſt, and gave them hopes to eaſe them more for the future.

He remits the arreais of Taxes.

Moreover, having underſtood that during the Troubles there were made a great quantity of falſe Nobles, who were exempted from the Tax, he commanded that they ſhould be ſought forth; nor did he confirm them in uſurpation for a piece of mony, as hath been ſometimes done, to the great prejudice of other taxed people; but he would that the Tax ſhould be re-impoſed upon them, to the end that by this means they might aſſiſt the poor people to bear a good part of the burthen, as being the richer.

He commands the falſe Nobles to be ſought out, and taxes re-impoſed on them.

He deſired with much affection to do good to his true Nobility, and repay them thoſe Expences they had been at in his ſervice; but his Coffers were empty: and moreover, all the Gold in *Peru* had not been ſufficient to ſatisfie the Appetite and Luxury of ſo many people. For King *Henry* the third had by his example, and that of his Minions, raiſed expences ſo high, that Lords lived like Princes, and Gentlemen like Lords: for which purpoſes they were forced to alienate the Poſſeſſions of their Anceſtors, and change thoſe old Caſtles, the illuſtrious marks of their Nobility, into Silver-lace, Gilt-coaches, train and horſes. Afterwards, when they were indebted beyond their credit, they fell either upon the Kings Coffers, demanding Penſions; or on the backs of the people, oppreſſing them with a thouſand Thieveries. The King, willing to remedy this diſorder, declared very reſolvedly to his Nobility, That he would they ſhould accuſtom themſelves to live every man on his Eſtate; and to this effect he ſhould be well con-

He retrenches the luxury of the Nobility, and ſends them all to their houſes in the Country.

Part III. [illegible] that to enjoy themſelves of the peace, they ſhould go ſee their Country houſes, and give order for the improvement of their Lands. "Thus he eaſed them of the great "expences of the Court; and made them un-"derſtand, that the beſt treaſure they could "have, was that of good management. Moreover, knowing that the *French* Nobility would ſtrive to imitate the King in all things, he ſhewed them by his own example, how to abridge their ſuperfluity in Cloathing. For he ordinarily wore gray Cloath, with a Doublet of Sattin or Taffata, without ſlaſhing, Lace, or Embroydery. He praiſed thoſe who were clad in this ſort, and chid the others, who carried, ſaid he, their Mills, and their Woods and Foreſts on their backs.

He ſhews them by his example the modeſty of his habits.

About the end of the year, he was ſeized with a ſuddain and violent ſickneſs as *Monceaux*, of which it was thought he would die. All *France* was affrighted; and the rumours which ran of it, ſeemed to re-kindle ſome factions: but in ten or twelve days, he was on foot again; as if God had onely ſent him this ſickneſs to diſcover to him what ill wills there were yet in the Kingdome, and to give him the ſatiſfaction to feel by the ſorrows of his people, the pleaſures of being loved.

He falls dangerouſly ſick.

In the ſtrength of his Diſeaſe, he ſpoke to his friends theſe excellent words; *I do not at all fear death; I have affronted it in the greateſt dangers; but I avow that I ſhould unwillingly leave this Life, till I have put this Kingdome in-*

Words of a good King.

to

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] as if they were my Children.

After his recovery, continuing in his praiſe-worthy deſigns of putting his Affairs in order, he came to St. *Germain in Laye*, to reſolve the Eſtates of the expence as well of his Houſe, as for the Guard of Frontiers and Gariſons, entertainment of Forces, Artillery, Sea-Affairs, and many other Charges. He had then in his Council (as we may ſay we have at preſent) very great men, and moſt experienced in all ſorts of Matters; but he ſtill ſhewed himſelf more able and more underſtanding then they. He examined and diſcuſſed all the particulars of his expence with a judgement and with a clearneſs of ſpirit truely admirable; retrenched and cut off all that was poſſible, allowing onely what was neceſſary. Amongſt other things, he abridged the ſuperfluous expences of the Tables in his Houſe; not ſo much that he might ſpare himſelf, as to oblige his Subjects to moderate their liqueriſh prodigality, and hinder them from ruining their whole houſes by keeping too great Kitchins. “In fine, by the example of the King, which “hath always more force then Laws, or then “Correction; Luxury was ſoon converted into a Frugality very neceſſary for the State.

He gives the Eſtates an account of his expences.

Cuts off the ſuperfluous expences of his Tables.

“He had choſen for his Council very able and faithfull Miniſters; as, *Chiverny*, *Bellievre*, *Sillery*,

Who were his Counſellours & Miniſters.

lery, *Sancy*, *Janin*, *Villeroy* and *Rosny*. I ſpeak not here at all of his gallant Men for War, as the Marſhal of *Byron*, *Leſdiguieres* Governour of the *Dauphinate*, the Duke of *Mayenne*, the Conſtable of *Montmorency*, the Marſhal *de la Chaſtre*, the Marſhal *d' Aumont*, *Guiſey*, *la Noue*, and many others; of whom he ſerved not himſelf in the Adminiſtration of State-affairs, though he often entertained himſelf with them; and for their honour ſometimes communicated to them things of conſequence, demanding their advice.

Chiverny.

The Chancellour of *Chiverny*, who had been raiſed to this charge under the reign of *Henry* the third, was a man cold, diſſembled, and conſiderate: but, as his Enemies ſaid, he was a much better Pleader then Counſellour of State.

Bellievre.

He died the year following; and in his place the King conſtituted *Pompone de Bellievre*, a man perfectly accompliſhed in the knowledge of the Rights and Intereſts of *France*, and a moſt expert Negotiator, as he well ſhewed in the Treaty of *Vervin*. He was old when the King gave him this Charge; and therefore ſaid himſelf, That he onely entred into it, to go out of it. He counſelled the King to make a ſevere Act againſt Duels: He eſtabliſhed a very good Order in the Council; and ordained, That none ſhould be received Maſter of the Requeſts, but who had been ten whole years in one of the Soveraign Companies; or ſixteen in other of the Subalternate Seats.

Nicholas

Sillery.

Nicholas Bruſlard de Sillery, Preſident of the Cap to the Parliament of *Paris*, who was his Son-in-law, and who had been his Companion at *Vervin*, was of a ſpirit ſweet, facile and circumſpect. It hath been ſaid, that the Publick never beheld any paſſion either in his Countenance or Diſcourſe.

Sancy.

Harlay-Sancy was a man free, bold and dauntleſs, who feared no perſon when he acted for the ſervice of the King: but he was a little rugged, and ſpoke to him too freely, witneſs what he ſaid concerning Madam *Gabriella*, who knew how to return it to him.

As for *Janin* Preſident of the Parliament of *Bourgongne*, and *Villeroy* chief Secretary of State, they had both taken part with the League; and yet very profitably ſerved both the King and *France*, having in what they acted endeavoured onely for the defence of the Catholick Religion, and not been moved out of a ſpirit of faction. They had hindred the *Spaniards* from planting themſelves in this Realm, and the Duke of *Mayenne* from abſolutely caſting himſelf upon them, as his deſpair had often perſwaded him to do. They agreed both in this point, that they loved the Eſtate and Royalty with paſſion, and that they had great judgement: but for the reſt of their humours, they were very much different.

Janin.

Janin was an old *Gaul*, who would manage his Affairs by the ancient forms, according to the Laws and Ordinances; a good Lawyer, firm and reſolute, who went directly towards

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his end, and who knew no ſubtile turnings and windings, but entirely loved the publick good.

Villeroy.

Villeroy was one of the wiſeſt and moſt exact Courtiers that was ever ſeen: he had a ſpirit clear and neat, which would unravel with an incredible facility the moſt embroyled Affairs; explain them ſo agreeably and intelligibly as nothing more, and who turned them as himſelf pleaſed. He was wonderfully active withal, and moſt excellent at finding Expedients; taking his buſineſs by ſo ſure hold, that it was difficult to eſcape him.

The King confers often with his Counſellours, & how.

The King often conferred with theſe Counſellours; for they were now ſo called, and not Miniſters, as they had been for above thirty years before. He ſpoke to them of his Affairs, ſometimes to be inſtructed, and ſometimes to inſtruct them; which he did either in the Council-chamber, or walking in the Gardens of the *Tuilleries*, *Monceaux*, St. *Germain*, and *Fontainbleau*. He diſcourſed often with them apart, calling them one after another; and he did ſo, either to oblige them to ſpeak to him with more liberty, or not to tell them all together what he would onely tell to ſome particularly; or for ſome other reaſon which he without doubt deduced from good policy. He ſaid, That he found none amongſt them who ſatisfied him like *Villeroy*; and that he could diſpatch more buſineſs with him in an hour, then with the others in a whole day.

As for *Maximilian de Bethune* Baron of *Roſny*, and after Duke of *Sully*, he had been bred up with the King in the Hugonot Religion, and the King had known his capacity and affection in divers affairs of conſequence; but above all, that his genius carried him to the good management of Revenues, and that he had all qualities requiſite for that purpoſe. In effect, he was a man of good order, exact, a good husband, a keeper of his word; not prodigal nor proud, nor carried away by vain follies or expences, or play, or women, or any other things not convenient for a man entruſted with ſuch an Employment. Moreover, he was vigilant, laborious, expeditious, and one who dedicated almoſt his whole time to his affairs, and little to his pleaſure: and withal, he had the gift of piercing into the very bottome of matters, and unravelling thoſe twiſtings and knots with which Treaſurers, when they are not truſty and faithful, endeavour to conceal their deceits.

Roſny, after Duke of *Sully*.

We have already ſaid how the King deſired above all things to provide for a good Government in his Revenues; and the reaſons for which he had been obliged to leave *Francis d' O*, in the charge of Superintendant. After this man was dead, he gave that charge to five or ſix perſons, whom he believed both capable and honeſt men: he was perſwaded that he ſhould be better ſerved by them, then by one alone, imagining that they would ſerve as checks and controulers to one another.

After the death of *Francis d' O*, he commits his Revenues to five or ſix, who acquit themſelves ill.

ther: But the quite contrary happened: every one diſcharged himſelf on his Companion; nothing was advanced; and if any would act, the others were not wanting to croſs him by their jealouſies: ſo that they only agreed in this point, that every one looked that his Salary was well paid him; which coſt the King ſix times more, then if he had had only one Superintendent, whilſt he drew no profit from this multitude.

Knowing then that ſo many people did onely imbroil his Revenues, he returned them again into the hands of one, and this was *Sancy*. But a ſhort time after, finding him more proper for other Employments then that, he gave him *Roſny* for a Companion, and after made *Roſny* alone Superintendent.

Roſny before he entred into this Charge, was provided with all neceſſary knowledges to acquit himſelf well of it; he knew perfectly all the Revenues of the Kingdom, and all the expences which were neceſſary. He communicated all he knew to the King, who on his part had likewiſe ſtudied all theſe things, ſo that an hundred Crowns could not be laid out, but he would know whether it were well or ill employed. “As it is the advantage of an unfaithful Steward that his Maſter be ignorant, and make no inſpection into his affairs: ſo it is of a true and faithful Servant, that he be well inſtructed, and that he clearly ſee them, to the end

“he

Seeing that, he makes *Sancy* alone Superintendent:

And very little time after, *Roſny*,

who knows perfectly the Revenues.

Which the King knows alſo ſo well, that he could not be cheated.

"he may know how worthily to eſteem his "Services.

For the reſt of his humour, it agreed perfectly well with that of the Kings. When he truſted him with his Revenues, he deſired him that he would never take a bottle of wine, or any the leaſt preſent without advertiſing him. And when *Roſny* did advertiſe him of it, he conſented preſently to it: and likewiſe was ſo willing that in ſerving him well he might find his benefit, that oftentimes he added gifts of his own, to give him courage to ſerve him ſtill better and better. But *Roſny* never received them till they were duly ratified in the Chamber of Accounts; to the end all the world might know the liberality of his Prince towards him, and that he might not be reproached that he made uſe of his favour to load his own Coffers.

He deſires *Roſny* to take no Preſents without advertiſing him.

Under the Adminiſtration of this Superintendent, the firſt Law which the King made concerning affairs of this nature, was the immutable conſtancy of their ordering; which was never to alter, after it was once agreed and concluded on. "For as the moſt deſperate things are by good order redreſſed "under a firm and conſtant Conduct: ſo the "beſt eſtabliſhed and moſt aſſured become "diſperſed under a light head, which does, "undoes, and redoes without ceaſing; and "which on the morrow revokes, what it to "day commanded.

He begins to eſtabliſh a conſtant order in the Revenues.

Roſny ſoon gave indubitable proofs of his capacity,

Effects of this good management of *Roſny*.

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for having inſtituted only four * Generalities, he in little time got in a Million and half of money, which was in Arrear. And after the Surprizal of *Amiens* by the *Spaniards*, he readily found moneys to raiſe a great Army, and furniſh the expence of the ſiege: ſo that he was one of the Principal inſtruments in the Recovery of that great City.

* *A general place for receipt of Revenues, whereof there be 20 in France, viz.* Paris, Rouen, Caen, Nantes, Tours, Bourges, Poictiers, Agen, Tholouſe, Montpellier, Aix, Grenoble, Lyons, Dijon, Chaalons, Amiens, Orleans, Limoges, Soiſſons & *Moulin.*

Expedients to hinder thoſe of the Council to ſhare with the Farmers.

It is convenient, ſince it may prove neceſſary in all times, to take notice of an Expedient which amongſt others he found to hinder the couſenages of the Tax-gatherers. He knew that there were ſome perſons in the Kings Council, who held part with the Renters and Farmers, and who cauſed them to be adjudged to the Council at a low price, and often made be given great Diminutions. To hinder therefore theſe people from eating the Cake amongſt them, he ſtopt the hands of the general Farmers, forbidding the under-Farmers longer to pay them any thing, but themſelves to bring the mony of their under-Farms into the Exchequer. He doubled by this means the Revenues of the King: for the under-Farms and under-Rents were found to ſurmount almoſt two thirds the General Rents and Farms.

The Collectors exclaim againſt Roſny, but he derides them.

Thoſe of the Council and the Collectors at firſt exclaimed highly againſt his Conduct; they laid ſnares every where for him, and be-

begat him a thouſand troubles; but with time he brought them to reaſon. Likewiſe all thoſe who had no right to demand any thing of him, and who ceaſed not to importune him, when they could get nothing from him, ſtormed againſt his hardneſs; but he cared not for their fury; he regarded onely legally to pay the debts of the King, and readily to pay what was ordained for good ends; for he knew not how to let that be an hundred times demanded, which was truly due.

A general place for receipt of Receipts, whereof there be in France, viz. Paris, Rouen, Caen, Na pellier, A ar,

“We have ſtayed ſomewhat the longer “on this point of the Revenues, becauſe it “is the moſt important of all; that by which “all things are done, and without which no-“thing can be done; on which depends either “the eaſe or the oppreſſion of the people, “and the good or ill ſucceſs of all deſigns or “enterprizes.

Expedients to hinder the whole of the Council ſhare with the Farmers

Our *Henry* much deſired at the ſame time to take care for the Reformation of the Clergy, which in truth was in great diſorder, as well in temporals, its goods having been uſurped during the Wars by the *Hugonots* and wicked Catholicks; as in ſpirituals, the greateſt part of both Prelates and Paſtors being as ignorant as depraved: but he could not yet apply convenient remedies. The neceſſity to which he was driven to recompence thoſe who had well ſerved him, conſtraining him to tolerate abuſes, and likewiſe to commit them; diſpoſing Benefices as formerly *Charles Martell* had done. For he gave them

1599. The King cannot yet provide for the Reformation of the Clergy.

The Collectors claim a-

His abuſe of Benefices,

to people incapable, to Married men, to men of the Sword, to Children, and likewiſe to Women, to recompenſe the loſs of their husbands killed or ruined in his Service.

I have not attempted to excuſe this fault; for there can never be any lawful reaſon given for the proſtitution of the goods of the Sanctuary to prophane uſes, or employing the treaſures of the Croſs in other Services then that of the Altar. I know well that many Eccleſiaſticks themſelves act otherwiſe; but who doubteth theſe people to be worſe then thoſe *Jews*, who played at Dice upon the holy Robe of *Jeſus Chriſt*?

Remonſtrance of the general Aſſembly of the Clergy to the King.

About the end of this year, the general Aſſembly of the Clergy was held at *Paris*, who drew up a Remonſtrance to the King; by which the Prelates prayed him to cauſe the Council of *Trent* to be publiſhed in *France*: Not to charge his conſcience with the nomination of Biſhops, Abbots, and other Benefices having the charge of ſouls; not to give any perſons of the Layty Penſions over Benefices; not to permit Churches and holy places to be profaned as they then were; but to take ſome order for their reparation, and the re-eſtabliſhment of Divine Service.

For what concerned the Council of *Trent*, it is to be underſtood that it was received in *France*, as to thoſe Articles concerned the Faith; but not generally for thoſe which concerned Policy and Diſcipline, becauſe it ſeemed to many, that theſe laſt were for the moſt part contrary to the liberty of the *Gallick*

Church, and the rights of the King. For which reaſons, whatever endeavours the zealous have uſed, they could never compaſs its reception, the Parliaments having alwaies ſtrongly oppoſed it.

The Kings anſwer.

To the Harangue of the Clergy, the King eloquently anſwered, but in few words: *That he acknowledged what they had ſaid concerning the nomination of Benefices was true; but that he was not the author of that abuſe. That being come to the Crown during the flames of a Civil War, he had ran where ever he had beheld the greateſt fire to extinguiſh it. That now he had peace, he would endeavour again to raiſe up thoſe two Pillars of* France, *to wit, Piety and Juſtice. That God willing he would reſtore the Church to as good an Eſtate as it was in the time of* Lewis *xii. But,* ſaid he, *contribute I pray you on your ſide; let your good Examples as much incite the people to do good, as they have been heretofore diverted: you have exhorted me to my duty, and I exhort you to yours; let us act in this with envy one to another. My Predeceſſors have given you fair words, but I with my Gray Jacket will give you good effects. I am all Gray without, but you ſhall find me Gold within. I will ſee your deſires, and anſwer them the moſt favourably I can poſſible.*

He had need of great Prudence to conduct himſelf with the Pope and with the *Hugonots.*

All his Prudence and all his Addreſs were not too much to teach him to govern himſelf ſo that both the Catholicks and Pope might be content with his Conduct, and the *Hugonots*

have

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have no cauſe to be alarmed, or cantonize themſelves. His Duty and his Conſcience carried him to the aſſiſtance of the firſt; but Reaſon of State, and the great Obligations he had to the laſt, permitted him not to make them deſpair. To keep therefore a neceſſary temperature, he granted them an Edict more ample then the precedent. It was called, The Edict of *Nantes*, becauſe it was concluded the year before in that City whilſt he was there. By this he granted them all liberty for the exerciſe of their Religion; and likewiſe licenſe to be admitted to Charges, to Hoſpitals, to Colledges, and to have Schools in certain places, and preaching every where; and many other things, of which they are ſince deprived, by reaſon of their Rebellions and divers Enterprizes.

Edict of *Nantes* granted to the *Hugonots*.

The Parliament with great difficulty confirm it.

The Parliament ſtrongly oppoſed it for more then a year: but in the end, when they were made underſtand that not to accord that ſecurity to the *Hugonots*, who were both powerful and quarrelſome, were to rekindle new War in the Kingdom, they confirmed it.

The King ſhews all reſpect to the Pope.

On the other ſide, to ſweeten the Pope, who might be troubled at this Edict, the King ſhewed him all poſſible manner of reſpect, and ſtrenuouſly embraced his intereſts, as appeared in the action of *Ferrara*, in the years 1597. and 1598.

Cauſe of the Dutchy of *Ferrara*.

This Dutchy is a *Fief* Male of the holy Seat, of which the Popes had formerly inveſted the Lords of the houſe of *Eſt*, in charge of its reverſion in default of legitimate Males. The *Alphonſo d'Eſt*, ſecond of that name, and laſt Duke, died in the year 1597. without Children, and had left great Treaſures to *Cæſar d'Eſt*, Baſtard to *Alphonſo* the firſt his Kinſman. He had done what poſſibly he could to obtain the Inveſtiture of the Dutchy on this Baſtard; who not able to obtain it, yet ceaſed not to take poſſeſſion of it after the death of *Alphonſo* the ſecond; reſolving to maintain it by force of Arms. *Clement* the eighth was obliged to make War againſt him, to diſpoſſeſs him; the Princes of *Italy* took part in the Quarrel; and the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Nemours* were upon the point to undertake the defence of *Cæſar*, whoſe near Kinſmen they were, being the iſſues of *Anne d'Eſt*, Daughter of *Hercules* the ſecond, Duke of *Ferrara*, and of Madam *Renee de France*; for that *Anne* in her firſt marriage had eſpouſed *Francis* Duke of *Guiſe*; and in her ſecond, *James* Duke of *Nemours*. The King of *Spain* likewiſe favoured him underhand, not deſiring that the Pope ſhould grow greater in *Italy* by the re-union of that Dutchy. But *Henry* the great was not wanting to take this occaſion to offer his Sword and his Forces to the holy Father. The Allies knowing it, were extreamly diſheartned, and he conſtrained to treat with the Pope, to whom he ſurrendred all the Dutchy of *Ferrara*. There remained to him onely the Cities of *Modena* and *Regia*, which the Emperour maintained to be *Fief* of the Empire, and of which

Cæſar baſtard of *Ferrara*, would maintain it.

The Pope makes war againſt him.

The King offers his ſword to the Pope.

Cæſar quits *Ferrara*, & remains Duke of *Modena*.

which he gave him the Inveſtiture. From whence came the preſent Dukes of *Modena*.

Many *Hugonots* converts.

As the heat which the King teſtified in this occaſion for the intereſts of the holy Seat, ſenſibly obliged the Pope; that care which he made dayly appear to bring back the *Hugonots* into the boſome of the Church, was no leſs agreeable to him. He acted to this purpoſe in ſuch a manner, that from day to day many of the moſt underſtanding and of the beſt quality were converted. But that which was more important, was, his taking the young Prince of *Conde*, from the hands of the *Hugonots*, who had kept him diligently at St. *John d'Angely* ever ſince the death of his Father, which happened in the year 1587. and brought him up in the falſe Religion, with great hope to make him one day their Chief and Protector. The King, conſidering how it would be both prejudicial to the ſafety of the young Prince, and to his own intereſts, to leave him longer there, knew ſo well how to gain the principal of the party, that they ſuffered him to be brought to Court; and he gave him for Governour *John*, Marqueſs of *Piſani*, a Lord of a rare merit, and of a wiſdome without reproach, who forgot not to inſtruct him well in the Catholick Religion, and in the trueſt ſentiments of Honour and Vertue. He was yet but ſeven or eight years old when he came to him, the King gave him the Government of *Guyenne*, loving him tenderly, and cheriſhing him as his preſumptive Succeſſour.

The King takes the young Prince of *Conde* from the *Hugonots*, and cauſes him to be inſtructed in the Catholick Religion.

During

Marriage of the Infanta of Spain, and Katherine ſiſter to the King.

During this calm of the peace, nothing was ſpoken of but rejoycings, feaſts and marriages. That of the *Infanta* of *Spain*, *Iſabella-Clara-Eugenia*, and of the Arch-Duke *Albert*, was ſolemnized in the Low-Countries: and that of Madam *Katherine*, ſiſter of the King, with *Henry* Duke of *Bar*, eldeſt ſon to *Charles* the ſecond Duke of *Lorrain* at *Paris*.

Qualities of *Katherine*, & why the King married her to the Duke of *Bar*.

Katherine was forty years of age; more agreeable then fair, having one Leg a little ſhort. She was very ſpiritual, loved Learning, and knew much for a woman; but was an obſtinate *Hugonot*. The King feared leſt ſhe ſhould marry ſome Proteſtant Prince, who by this means might become Protector of the *Hugonots*, and be like another King in *France*: by reaſon of which, he gave her to the Duke of *Bar*, thinking moreover to gain more belief among the Catholicks, by allying himſelf with the houſe of *Lorrain*. Before this, he had uſed all poſſible means to convert her, even to the employing of threats: but not being able to do it, he ſaid one day to the Duke of *Bar*, *My Brother, it is you muſt vanquiſh her.*

The marriage made in the Kings Closet.

There was ſome difficulty about the place and the Ceremony of Celebration of this marriage: the Duke would have it done at the Church, and the Princeſs by a *Hugonot* Miniſter. The King found a mean: he cauſed it to be done in his Cloſet, whither he led his Siſter by the hand, and commanded his natural Brother, who had for about two years been

Archbishop of *Roan*, to marry them. This new Archbishop at first made some resistance, alledging the Canons; but the King representing to him that his Closet was a consecrated place, and that his presence supplied the default of all solemnities, the Archbishop had no longer power to resist him.

This Marriage being made for the good of the Catholick Religion, it seemed that the Pope should have been content. Nevertheless, not willing to suffer an ill that good might come of it, he declared that the Duke of *Bar* had incurred Excommunication, for having without the dispensation of the Church contracted with an Heretick; nor could the Duke, what submission soever he made, obtain Absolution. It was necessary for God to lend his hand. This Princess died three years after with sadness and melancholy, to see her self live in a discontented manner with her Husband, who dayly pressed her to turn Catholick.

The Pope troubled at the Duke of *Bar* for this marriage.

Death of the Dutchess of *Bar*.

Besides the solemnities of these Marriages, many other things entertained the Court. Two notable Changes, one of the Duke of *Joyeuse*, the other of the Marchioness of *Bel' Isle*, caused its astonishment.

The Duke of *Joyeuse* re-takes the habit of Capuchin.

The Duke of *Joyeuse*, who had quitted the habit of Capuchin to become chief of the League in *Languedoc*, on a fair day, without saying any thing to any body, went and cast himself into his Convent in *Paris*, and re-took the habit. Few days after, there was much aſtoniſhment to ſee him with that habit of penitence preach in the Pulpit, whom they had ſeen the week before dancing of Balls, as one of the moſt Gallant. It was ſaid, that the holy Exhortations of his Mother, who from time to time put him in remembrance of his Vow, and ſome ambiguous words which the King had thrown out in converſe with him, made him think that he could no longer live in the world either with ſafety of Conſcience, or with Honour.

The *Mar*chioneſs of *Bell' Iſle* turns *Feuillantine.*

The Marchioneſs of *Bell' Iſle*, ſiſter to the Duke of *Longueville*, and Widow of the Marqueſs of *Bell' Iſle*, eldeſt ſon of the Marſhal *de Retz*, having received ſome ſecret diſpleaſure, renounced likewiſe the world, and went and ſhut her ſelf up in the Convent of the *Feuillantines* at *Toloſe*, where ſhe took the vail, and finiſhed her days.

Duel of *de Crequy*, and *Phillipin* baſtard of *Savoy*.

After this, came News to the Court, that *Phillipin*, Baſtard to the Duke of *Savoy*, was killed in a Duel by the *Seigneur de Crequy*: of whom it might be without flattery ſaid, That he was one of the moſt gallant and braveſt men of his time. The Hiſtory of this Combat may be found written in ſo many places, and is yet ſo firm in the memory of all that wear ſwords, that it would be ſuperfluous to recount the particularities.

The Chaſe was now the Kings ordinary diverſiſement. It is recounted, that Hunting in the Foreſt of *Fountain-bleau*, accompanied

The Apparition of the great Hunter to the King hunting at *Fountainbleau.*

by many Lords, he heard a great noiſe of Horns, Hunters and Dogs, which ſeemed to be a great way diſtant; but all of an inſtant approached them. Some of his company who were twenty paces before him, ſaw a great black man among the Buſhes, who affrighted them in ſuch manner, that they could not tell what became of him; but they heard him cry out to them with a rank and affrightful voice, *M'attendez-vous*, or *m'entendez-vous*, or *amendez-vous*; that is, *Do you hear me*; or *Do you underſtand me*, or elſe, *Amend your ſelves*. The Wood-men and Country people thereabouts, ſaid, That it was no extraordinary thing; for they had often ſeen this black man, whom they named the *Great Hunter*, with a pack of Hounds, which hunted at full cry; but never did harm to any.

What theſe fantaſms may be.

Infinite account is made in all Countries in the world of like illuſions in Hunting. If we may give any credit to them, we may believe them either to be the tricks of Sorcerers, or of ſome evil ſpirits, to whom God gives permiſſion to convince the incredulous, and make them ſee that there are ſubſtances ſeparated, and a being above man.

Now if Prodigies are ſignes, as ſome have ſaid of ſome great and dire Events, it may be believed that this preſaged the ſtrange death of the fair *Gabriella*, which happened ſome days after. The love which the King had for her, inſtead of being extinguiſhed by enjoyment, was come to ſuch a point, that ſhe had dared to demand of him, that he ſhould acknowledge his fault, and legitimate his Children by a ſubſequent marriage: nor durſt he abſolutely refuſe her this grace, but entertained her ſtill with hopes.

The fair *Gabriella* demands the King to eſpouſe her, and legitimate his Children.

He feeds her with hope.

Thoſe who love the glory of this great King, can difficultly believe that he would have done ſuch an action which had without doubt begot a low opinion of him, and again thrown him under his peoples hatred. However, it was to be feared that the allurements of this woman, who had found his weakneſs, with the flattery of the Courtiers whom ſhe had almoſt all gained, either by preſents or kindneſſes, might engage this poor Prince to a diſhonour. And without diſſembling, he had his ſoul too tender towards Ladies. He was Maſter of all his other paſſions, but he was a Slave to this: nor can his memory be juſtified from this reproach; for though he were admirable in all other parts of his life, he ought not to be imitated in this.

In the mean time, *Gabriella*, flattering her ſelf with a hope to be ere long his Wife, deduced from thoſe hopes himſelf had given her, acted ſo well, that ſhe obliged him to demand of the Pope Commiſſioners to judge of the Divorce between him and Queen *Margaret*. And the King, that he might finde favour with the holy Father, and render him more facile to his intentions, cauſed to be ſaid underhand, that he would marry *Maria de Medices* his Neece, Siſter to the Duke of *Florence*: for

She in the end obliges the King to demand Commiſſioners of the Pope to judge of the divorce of *Margaret*.

whom nevertheleſs it was believed that he had not ſhewed any deſire.

And the Pope, were it that he diſtruſted his intention, or that he ſaw that Queen *Margaret* lent not her hand to it, protracted the buſineſs, and returned onely ambiguous Anſwers. It was likewiſe ſaid, that being one day much preſſed by the Cardinal *d'Oſſat* and by *Sillery*, to give content to their Maſter, for want of which, ſaid they, he may paſs further, and eſpouſe the Dutcheſs; he was ſo aſtoniſhed at this diſcourſe, that he immediately remitted the conduct of this Affair to the hand of God, commanded a Faſt through all the City of *Rome*, and went himſelf to Prayers, to demand of God to inſpire him with what ſhould be beſt for his glory. That at the end of his Prayer he cryed out as if he had been revived from an Extaſie, *God hath provided*; and that in few days after, there arrived a Courrier at *Rome*, bringing News of the death of the Dutcheſs.

* *A ſervice in the Roman Church uſed three days before* Eaſter, *which are call'd,* Les trois Jours de tenebres

She dies in a ſtrange manner.

In the mean time the King grew impatient at theſe delays; and it was to be feared leſt a diſdain to be neglected ſhould caſt him into the ſame inconveniencies it had formerly done *Henry* the eighth, King of *England*; or by the counſel of ſome flatterers, forcing the goodneſs of his nature, be perſwaded to rid himſelf of Queen *Margaret* in any manner for ever.

Gabriella was at preſent great with her fourth Childe, when the feaſt of *Eaſter* ap-

his *Eaſter*-devotions, and ſends the fair *Gabriella* to

The King remains at *Fontainbleau* to do *Paris*.

proaching, the King deſiring to do his Devotions for that holy time far from all object of ſcandal, ſent her to *Paris*, accompanying her juſt half way. She with no ſmall grief parted from him, recommending to him her Children with tears in her eyes, as if ſhe had ſome ſecret preſentiment, telling him that ſhe ſhould never more ſee him.

Being at *Paris*, ſhe lodged in the houſe of *Zamet*, that famous Treaſurer, after having dined with him, and heard **Tenebres* at little St. *Anthonies*, (being holy *Thurſday*) as ſhe returned to her Lodging, and being walking in the Garden, ſhe felt her ſelf ſtruck with an Apoplexy in the brain. The firſt fury of it being paſſed, ſhe would no longer ſtay in that houſe, but cauſed her ſelf to be carried to that of Madam *de Sourdis* her Aunt, near St. *Germain* of the *Auxerrois*. And all the reſt of that day, and the morrow, ſhe was perplexed with Swoonings and Convulſions, of which ſhe died on the *Saturday* morning.

* *A ſervice in the Roman Church uſed three days before* Eaſter, *which are called*, Les trois Jours de tenebres.

She dies in a ſtrange manner.

The cauſes of her death were diverſly ſpoken of; but however, it was a happineſs to *France*, ſince it deprived the King of an object for which he was about to looſe both himſelf and his Eſtate. His grief was as great as his love had been: yet he, not being of thoſe feeble ſouls who pleaſe themſelves in perpetuating their ſorrows, and in bathing themſelves in their tears, received not onely thoſe comforts he ſought, but ſtill conſerved for the Children, and particularly for the Duke of *Ven*

The King comforts himſelf, & conſerves an extream tenderneſs for her Children.

doſme, that affection he had born the Mother.

Queen *Margaret* preſents a requeſt to the Pope to diſſolve her marriage.

All good French-men paſſionately deſired that ſo good a King might leave legitimate Children. They durſt not preſs him to take a Wife capable to bring him forth ſuch, ſo long as *Gabriella* lived, for fear leſt he ſhould eſpouſe her: and out of the ſame fear, Queen *Margaret* would not give her conſent to diſſolve his marriage. But when *Gabriella* was dead, ſhe willingly lent her hand to it; and her ſelf addreſſed a Requeſt to the holy Father to demand the diſſolution, founding it principally on two cauſes of nullity. The firſt was the want of conſent: for ſhe alledged ſhe had been forced to it by King *Charles* the *ix.* her Brother. The ſecond, the Proximity of Kindred found between them in the third degree: for which ſhe ſaid there had never been any valuable Diſpenſation.

The Lords and Parliament beſeech the King to take a wife.

In like manner the Lords of the Kingdome and the Parliament beſought his Majeſty by ſolemn Deputations, that he would think of taking a Wife: repreſenting to him the inconveniencies and the danger wherein *France* would be found, if he ſhould die without Children. Theſe Deputations will not ſeem ſtrange to thoſe who know our ancient Hiſtory, where it may be ſeen, that neither the King nor his Children married but by the advice of his Barons; and this paſſed in that time for almoſt a Fundamental Law of the Eſtate.

The King touched with theſe juſt ſupplications of his ſubjects, addreſſed his requeſt to the Pope, containing the ſame reaſons as that of Queen *Margaret*; and charged the Cardinal *d'Oſſat*, and *Sillery* his extraordinal Ambaſſadour, whom he had ſent to *Rome*, to purſue the judgement of the Pope concerning the reſtitution of the Marquiſate of *Saluces*, to ſollicite inſtantly this Affair.

He preſents his requeſt to the Pope, as well as Queen *Margaret*.

The cauſe reported to the Conſiſtory, the Pope gave Commiſſion to the Prelates to judge it on the place, according to the rights of that Crown; which ſuffers not French-men to be tranſported for Affairs of the like nature beyond the Mountains, whither it would be almoſt impoſſible to bring the neceſſary proofs and witneſſes. Theſe Prelates were the Cardinal of *Joyeuſe*, the Popes *Nuntio*, and the Archbiſhop of *Arles*; who having examined both Parties, ſeen the Proofs produced on one and the other, and the Requeſt of the three Eſtates of the Kingdom, declared this marriage null, and permitted them to marry whom they ſhould think fit.

The Pope appoints Commiſſioners, who pronounce the diſſolution of the marriage.

Queen *Margaret*, who for many years had deſerted the King, and voluntarily ſhut her ſelf up in the ſtrong Caſtle of *Uſſon* in *Auvergne*, had now permiſſion to come to *Paris*, money given her to pay her debts, great Penſions, the poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Valois*, with ſome other Lands, and right to bear ſtill the Title of Queen. She lived yet fifteen years, and built a Palace near *du Pre-aux-Clercs*; which

After which, Queen *Margaret* comes to *Paris*.

which was after ſold to pay his debts, and demoliſhed to build other houſes. She loved extreamly good Muſitians, having a delicate Ear, and knowing and eloquent Men, becauſe ſhe was of a ſpirit clear and very agreeable in her diſcourſe. For the reſt, ſhe was liberal even to prodigality; pompous and magnificent; but ſhe knew not what it was to pay her debts. "Which is without doubt the greateſt of all a Princes fault, becauſe there is no-"thing ſo much againſt Juſtice, of which he "ought to be the Protector and Defender.

1600. This marriage being diſſolved, *Bellievre* and *Villeroy*, fearing leſt the King ſhould engage himſelf in new loves, and be taken in ſome of thoſe ſnares which the faireſt of the Court ſtretched out for him, perſwaded him by many great Reaſons of State to fix his thoughts on *Maria de Medicis*, who was daughter to *Francis*, and Neece to *Ferdinand*, great Dukes of *Toſcany*.

Maria de Medicis demanded for *Hen.* 4.

The Cardinal *d' Oſſat* and *Sillery* made known his intention to the great Duke *Ferdinand* her Uncle; and *Alincourt*, ſon to *Villeroy*, whom he had ſent to thank the holy Father for his good and brief Juſtice touching the aforeſaid diſſolution of his marriage, had order to teſtifie to him, that the King having caſt his eyes on all the Daughters of the Soveraign Houſes of *Chriſtendome*, had found no Princeſs more agreeable to him. The buſineſs was managed with ſo much activeneſs and vigilency by the diligence of thoſe which had enterſcribed it, that the King found himſelf abſolutely engaged. The contract of the marriage was ſigned at *Florence* by his Ambaſſadors the fourth of *April*, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred. And *Alincour* in ſeven days brought him the news to *Fountain-bleau*. He aſſiſted at preſent at that famous Conference or Diſpute between *James David du Perron* Biſhop of *Evreux*, afterwards Cardinal, and *Philip du Pleſſis Mornay*; where truth nobly triumphed over falſhood.

The contract of the marriage at *Florence*, and the Nuptials Solemnized by *Proxy*.

There are particular relations of the ſolemnities made at *Florence*, the Magnificences of the great Duke, the Ceremonies of the Affiancing and Marriage of this Queen, of her Imbarking, her being conveyed by the Gallies of *Malta* and *Florence*, and her reception at *Marſeilles*, at *Avignon*, and at *Lions*, and therefore I ſhall ſpeak nothing of it.

Whilſt the Marriage of *Florence* was treating, the King having a heart which could for no long time keep his liberty, became enſlaved to a new object.

The King falls into the ſnares of *Madam d'Entragues* afterwards *March*ioneſs of *Verneuil*.

It is to be underſtood that *Mary Touchet*, who had been Miſtreſs to *Charles* the ninth, from whom came Iſſue the Count *d'Auvergne*, had been Married to the Lord *d'Entragues*, and had by him many children, amongſt the reſt a very fair daughter, named *Henrietta*, who by conſequent was ſiſter by the mothers ſide to the Count of *Auvergne*. This Count was about the age of thirty years, and ſhe about eighteen.

It

Part. III.

A good reflection concerning flatterers.

It is but too well known, that Flatterers and wicked Sycophants ruine all in the Courts of great Men, and corrupt likewiſe their perſons. “Theſe are they which ſweeten “the poyſon, which embolden the Prince to “do ill, which make him familiar with vice, “which ſeek and facilitate occaſions for it; “and who act, as we may ſay, the myſtery of “*Satan* and of the Tempter. It is impoſſi- “ble to purge Courts from theſe plagues; “they inſinuate, maugre the utmoſt endea- “vours, into the Palaces of great ones; they “render themſelves agreeable by new di- “vertiſements; gain the ear by flattering pray- “ſes, by pleaſant and well-deviſed Fables “and Stories: and when they have gained “their entrance, they make their venome “ſlide into the heart, and impoiſon the ſouls “of the moſt innocent.

Our *Henry*, though ſo great a Prince as he was, had theſe people near him, who knowing his weakneſs as to women, in ſtead of fortifying him againſt it, and reſtraining him like true friends, they ſpurred him (as it were) forward in his wickedneſs, and made their fortunes from his faults. It was theſe, who by commending the Beauties, the Carriage, the Spirit, and the divertizing and pleaſant diſcourſe of *Madamoiſelle d' Entragues*, made him firſt have a deſire to ſee and to love her. They could never have done a worſe Service for their Maſter then this. She had certainly many Charms, nor had ſhe leſs ſpirit and cunning. Her refuſals and modeſty did more and more provoke the Kings Paſſion. Though he was not prodigal, he cauſed an hundred thouſand crowns to be carried her at once. She refuſed them not, and reciprocally teſtified much love and impatience for ſo great a King: but ſhe cunningly cauſed her Father and Mother to obſerve her ſo near, that ſhe could not give him a full conveniency to ſpeak to her.

The King gives an hundred thouſand crowns to *Madamoiſelle d' Entragues.*

Hereupon ſhe let him underſtand, that ſhe even diſpaired that ſhe could not keep her word with him; that it was neceſſary to have the conſent of her Father and Mother, for which on her part ſhe would labour. Afterwards, after many delays and put offs, ſhe told him, that they could not be brought to ſo delicate a point, except, were it onely to ſecure their conſciences towards God, and their honour towards the world, his Majeſty would make her a promiſe of Marriage: That ſhe had no deſire to ſerve her ſelf of ſuch a writing; and that if ſhe would do it, ſhe knew well there was no Officer who durſt cite a Man who had fifty thouſand men of war at his command: but that theſe good people deſired it ſhould be ſo; and that he need make no difficulty to pleaſe their fancy, ſince he did but give her a little bit of paper in Exchange of the moſt precious thing ſhe had in the world. In fine, ſhe knew ſo well how to work his ſpirit, that he gave her a promiſe under his hand, by which he obliged him-

Her cunning to bring him to her deſigns.

She gets a promiſe of marriage from him.

ſelf to eſpouſe her in a year, ſo that in that time ſhe brought forth a Male child.

Sully tears it, but the King makes another.

All this intrigue may be ſeen in the Memoires of *Sully*, where he ſays, that the King having led him alone into the firſt Gallery of *Fountain-bleau*, ſhewed him this promiſe written under his hand, and demanded his advice: That in ſtead of formally anſwering him concerning it, he tore it in two pieces: That the King remained quite aſtoniſhed, and ſpeaking angerly, *How? now I believe that you are a fool*: and that he anſwered, *It is true Sir that I am a fool, and could wiſh I were more ſo, ſo that I alone in France were one*. That at his departing from the Gallery, the King entred into his Cloſet, and demanded a pen and inke, and that he believed it was to write another. However it were, this promiſe cauſed much trouble afterward: for the Lady would have made it valid, as we ſhall ſpeak.

He purſues at *Rome* the deciſion of the *Marquiſate* of *Saluces*.

At the ſame time that the King purſued the diſſolution of his firſt marriage at *Rome*, he made likewiſe inſtance to the holy Father, that he would decide the difference concerning the reſtitution of the Marquiſate of *Saluces*, the Deciſion of which had been referred to him by the Treaty of *Vervin*.

How that *Marquiſate* appertained to him.

To underſtand this well, it muſt be known that this Marquiſate was a *Fief* dependant of the *Dauphinate*, of which King *Francis* the firſt had ſeized himſelf by right of reverſion, for default of heirs Males in the Succeſſion

Succeſſion of the Lords that held it. Now in [illegible] 1588. during the Eſtates of *Blois*, the Duke of *Savoy* having advice that the League became very ſtrong in *France*, and that apparently that Monarchy would diſmember, ſnatched this Marquiſate, without having any ſubject of quarrel: he cloaked only this unjuſt uſurpation with this fair pretext, that he ſeized it out of fear leſt *Leſdiguieres* ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of it, and by this means eſtabliſh *Huganotiſm* in the midſt of his Territories.

How the Duke of *Savoy* ſeized it.

Seven years after, to wit, in the year 1595. the King being gone to *Lyons*, after the battail of *Fountain-françoiſe*, the Duke, who foreſaw well he would again have this Marquiſate, propoſed to him ſome accommodation for it. The King offered to give it to one of his Sons, to hold it at faith and homage, with ſome other conditions; but the Duke demanded it without any dependance, and ſo this Negotiation was broken.

An accommodation ſpoke of.

He offers it to be held at faith & homage.

Our Ambaſſadors treating the general peace at *Vervin*, were not wanting inſtantly to demand the reſtitution of that *Fief*. Thoſe of the Duke who aſſiſted, alledged in favour of their Maſter, that piece appertained to him as being a *Fief* dependant of *Savoy*, and that he had more eſſential titles to prove that dependancy, which it was neceſſary to ſee, to decide the difference with knowledge of the cauſe. Now it would have taken up too much time to cauſe them to come from *Savoy*: And the

By the Treaty of *Vervin* the buſineſs is remitted to the Popes Arbitration the Popes *Nuntio* preſſed the peace; for fear leſt during theſe delays ſome accident might happen to break it quite: ſo that not to retard it, it was judged convenient to refer to the Pope the deciſion of this affair, on condition that he ſhould terminate it in a year.

The *French* during that time ſollicited ſtrongly at *Rome* to have it decided. The *Savoyards* defended it onely at extremity, and that for fear to loſe their cauſe by default. Both the one and the other produced their Titles: Thoſe of the *French* were the beſt, and moreover, they had had a peaceable poſſeſſion of more then ſixty years, which was more then ſufficient to gain preſcription. The year being expired, the Pope demands of the King the prolongation of two months, to give in his ſentence of Arbitration, and that in the mean time the Marquiſate ſhould be ſequeſtred in his hands. The King willingly conſents: but the Duke enters into a miſtruſt that the Pope would have it for one of his Nephews; ſo that his Ambaſſador having certified this miſtruſt, the Pope refuſes to meddle any farther, either with the Gage or with the Arbitration.

The Pope refuſes farther medling with the Arbitration, & why.

The Duke imagined that his beſt way was to uſe delays, ſince it might happen that either the *French* King would grow weary of following of this buſineſs, or that ſome other more important affair might divert his thoughts otherwhere. Moreover, knowing that there were many melancholy ſpirits,

The Duke of *Savoy* ſtrives to gain time.

who could not be recovered out of that opinion that the King was ſtill in his heart a *Hugonot*; and with them many concealed and dangerous enemies; ſo that no year paſſed but with many conſpiracies againſt his perſon; he hoped that in the end ſome of them might ſucceed. In effect, that year there had been three diſcovered, of which that which made moſt noiſe was of a woman, who offered to the Count of *Soiſſons* to poiſon him; but the Count diſcovered it, and ſhe was buried alive in the *Greve*.

He would come to *France* to confer with the King.

To the end therefore to gain time, he deſired to come himſelf into *France*, having ſo good an opinion of his own cunning and ſlights, that he aſſured himſelf he ſhould obtain of the King the gift of this Marquiſate; or at leaſt he pretended to make ſuch propoſitions, and to employ ſo many artifices, that there ſhould paſs more then a year before he ſhould untangle them. He ſaid that his Ambaſſador had ſent him word, that he had heard the King ſay, that if they were together, they would decide this difference like friends; and that it was this good word had ſet him on his voyage. But many ſuſpected, and that with ſome appearance, that he had a deſign to gain ſome people in the Kings Council, to ſound the affections, and obſerve and watch the diſcontented; to caſt abroad ſeeds of corruption and diviſion, and renew that intelligence might be uſeful to him at Court. Others

imagined

What might be the motives of his voyage.

imagined that he was diſcontented with Spain, becauſe *Philip* the ſecond having given the Low-Countries in Dower to his youngeſt Daughter, he had left to the eldeſt, wife of this Duke, only a Crucifix and an Image of our Lady. Moreover, he had indeed received ſome diſpleaſures from the Miniſters of *Spain*; and he ſpread a report abroad, were it true or not, that he had undertaken this voyage without communicating any thing to *Philip* the third his Brother-in-law. In fine, every one judged according to his fancy; and poſſibly none divined the ſecrets of his thoughts, there being never any Prince more cloſe or leſs penetrable then he. And ſome ſaid his Heart was covered with mountains, as well as his Country; that is, becauſe that he was Hulch-back't, as *Savoy* was mountainous.

His Train.

He brought with him a Train which well ſet forth his degree: for he had with him twelve hundred horſe: but all his Officers were clad in mourning, by reaſon of the death of his Wife; which many took as an ill preſage. The King deſiring to receive him according to his dignity, commanded all the Cities and the Governours to render him the ſame honour as if he were there in perſon.

The King cauſes him to be well received every where.

He paſſes *Lyons*.

He came to *Lyons* by the River of *Roan*, and was received by *la Guiche* Governour of that City. But the *Chapiter* of *St. John* would not give him the place of Canon and Count of that Church, becauſe he no longer poſſeſſed the County of *Villars*, by virtue of which the Count of *Sanſy* had been at other times received. Adding to this, that he had not that Title, he would give time to make proof of his Nobility, of which the Chapiter diſpences not with any whatſoever: beſide our Kings.

From *Lyons* he came to *Roanna*, deſcended by water to *Orleans*, and after came poſt to *Fontain-bleau*, where the King was. He arrived the twentieth of *December*, accompanied with ſeventy horſe: and preſently to acquiſt confidence with him, he lamented highly againſt the *Spaniards*; diſcovered, or feigned to diſcover to him his moſt ſecret thoughts, and a deſigne he had to drive them out of *Italy*. He told him his friends, his ways, and his intelligences for that: he would make him believe that he would open his heart to him; that he was an abſolute French-man, and deſired to fix himſelf to the intereſts of *France* without reſerve. The King hearkned to him with attention, and thanked him for his good thoughts: but after all, he finiſhed with this: *I am of opinion that we ſhould devide firſt thoſe affairs between us, and then talk of others.* Three days after, the King went to *Paris*, where they were to diſcourſe more amply on the ſubject had brought him into *France*.

Arrives at *Fontain-bleau* where the King is

His addreſs to gain confidence with the King,

who is as ſubtile as himſelf; [illegible]

and carries him to *Paris*.

Now was the beginning of the laſt year of the ſixteenth Age, which is counted the One thouſand ſix hundredth, celebrated for the Centenary *Jubilee*, which was opened at *Rome*. There were found there four and twenty

Overture of the Centenary Jubilee at *Rome*.

R thou-

Part III. [illegible] and *French* ; some moved by devotion, others by curiosity: among which, there was a good number of *Hugenots*, who went to see the great Ceremony. They might do it with all security: for during the great *Jubilee*, the Inquisition ceaſes at *Rome* ; where at other times it is much leſs rigorous then in *Spain*. The Duke of *Bar* was in a concealed habit at this *Jubilee* : he went to demand abſolution of the holy Father ; but his ſubmiſſion, how great ſoever, could not obtain it ; nor had he it till the death of Madam *Katherine* his Wife.

Great Demonſtrations of friendſhip between the King and Duke.

The beginning of this year beheld the King and the Duke of *Savoy* live with ſo much familiarity, and ſo many proofs of friendſhip, that it was believed that they had both but the ſame heart. The *French* Courteſie and Civility obliged the King to give the Duke all ſorts of good Treatments ; and the deſire which the Duke had to obtain from him the Marquiſate, moved him to a great Complacency, and to ſeek all means to render himſelf agreeable to ſo great a King. The Court of *France* avowed it had never ſeen a more perfect Courtier ; the Ladies, a more pleaſing Gallant ; and the Officers of the King and the great ones, a Prince more liberal. He knew how to govern himſelf in ſuch manner with the King, that he neither acted his Companion nor his Servant : and if he would appear inferiour to him in Grandeur, he endeavoured to be ſuperiour to him in Generoſity and Liberality ;

How the Duke lived in the Kings Court.

Part III.

lity: he gave with full hands, especially to the principal men of the Court. The King permitted them to accept his presents, and on his side gave very great ones to the Duke; he treated him, and made the chiefs of the Court treat him; every day ſhewing him ſome new ſubject of divertiſement. Among other things, he deſired that he ſhould ſee his Parliament; which our Kings have uſually ſhewn to ſtrange Princes, as a *Compendium* of their greatneſs, and the place where their Majeſty ſits with the greateſt ſplendour. They went together into the * Lantern of the great Chamber, where they with great delight heard pleaded a very ſingular Cauſe, choſen of purpoſe, and the ſentence or agreement pronounced by *Harlay* firſt Preſident; a Perſonage ſo grave and ſo eloquent, that all which came from his mouth ſeemed to come from that of Juſtice herſelf.

The King ſhews him his Parliament.

* *A place I ſuppoſe ſo called, from which looked into the Parliament-Houſe, and where they might ſee and not be ſeen.*

There was no Civility or Courteſie which the King ſhewed not to the Duke: but after all, he releaſed not to him the Marquiſate. The Duke tryed the buſineſs all ways poſſible; ſometimes he offered to hold it in homage from the Crown; ſometimes he propoſed to the King his great Deſignes on the *Milanois*, and on the Empire; ſometimes he laid before him the platform of a puiſſant League to deſtroy the *Spaniards* in *Italy*. But the King was too wiſe * to be gulled by gilded ſhadows: he

Yet the King releaſes not to him the Marquiſate

* *The French hath it,* Prendre le Change, *which is taken for flying out at a wrong Deer like hounds of Riot.*

Part III.

anſwered, That he had no ambition to conquer the Eſtate of another, but onely to recover his own: That he would not ſpeak of this Affair to the Duke, but that they ought refer that to their Council. In effect, they named ſome perſons, who conferred together: but thoſe of the King inſiſting dayly on its reſtitution, and the Duke endeavouring to free it to himſelf, nothing was concluded.

Yet though all hopes were wanting to the Duke of obtaining any thing, he loſt not at all his Courage, but truſted to the ſecret intelligences he had renewed with ſome great ones of the Court, and particularly with the Duke of *Byron*. Many believe that he began now to debauch him; and that to this effect he ſerved himſelf of one named *Laffin*, a Gentleman of *Bourgongne*, of the houſe of *Beauvais la Nocle*; but the moſt pernicious and moſt trayterous Fellow that could be found in *France*; he making a Trade of carrying Tales from one to another. The King knew him well; and often ſeeing him very familiar with *Byron*, he had the goodneſs to tell the Marſhall more then once, *Let not that man approach you; he is a plague; he will ruine you.*

The Duke not ſucceeding, it is believed he endeavoured to debauch *Byron* by the means of *Laffin*.

The Duke knew that *Byron* loved the King, becauſe he had raiſed him to the greateſt Dignities of his Realm; and that the Prince likewiſe honoured him with his Good-will. It was therefore neceſſary to make him looſe this affection, to render him capable of any evil deſigne.

The vanities of *Byron* become inſupportable

He eſteems himſelf more then the King,

who takes diſguſt at it.

Byron was without doubt brave and valiant to the utmoſt; but ſo puft up with his Gallantry, that he could not ſuffer any perſon to equal him. After the peace of *Vervin*, not having any thing more to do, he continually boaſted of his great Actions: according to his own words, he had done all, and he intoxicated himſelf in ſuch manner with his own praiſe, that he raiſed his own Valour above the Kings. He believed that he ought him his Crown, that he could refuſe him nothing, and that he ſhould govern him abſolutely. Theſe Bravadoe's pleaſed not the King; he was troubled that his Subject ſhould think that he equalled him in Valour; but much more, that he ſhould have the preſumption to hope to govern him, who had ten times more brains and good judgement then the Marſhal.

A good and important Reflection.

“It is certainly a noble Ambition, and not onely well placed, but abſolutely neceſſary for a King, to believe none of his Subjects more worthy then himſelf. When he hath not this good opinion of himſelf, he lets himſelf be governed by him whom he believes a more able man then himſelf; and by this means ſoon falls into Captivity: therefore though he may be deceived, he ought ſtill to eſteem himſelf the moſt capable perſon to govern in his whole Realm. I may ſay rather, that he cannot deceive himſelf in this, becauſe there is no perſon more proper then himſelf, however ignorant he be to rule his Eſtate, God having deſtined this

"Function to him, and not to others; and "the people being always diſpoſed to receive "Commands when they come out of a ſacred "Mouth.

Henry the Great had therefore taken ſome diſguſt againſt the Marſhal of *Byron* by reaſon of his vanity; ſo that the Duke of *Savoy*, praiſing one day the Noble Actions and great Services of *Byron*, both Father and Son, the King anſwered, "*That it was true, they had "ſerved him well, but that he had taken great "pains to moderate the drunkenneſs of the Fa-"ther, and the violent paſſions of the Son.* The Duke remembred theſe words, and cauſed them to be carried by *Laffin* to *Byron*, who, touched in his moſt ſenſible part, was tranſported to a thouſand extravagancies; and having loſt all reſpect, loſt likewiſe that affection he had left for the King. It hath been ſuſpected that he at preſent abandoned himſelf to all manner of wicked deſignes, and that he promiſed to enter into a League which the *Savoyard* was to make with the King of *Spain*, on condition that he gave him his Daughter in marriage, and aſſiſted him to make himſelf Duke of *Bourgongne*.

The Duke cauſes to be carried to *Byron* ſome diſadvantagious words of the Kings.

After that the Duke of *Savoy* had remained more then two moneths in the Court of *France*, ſhewing, as the Proverb ſays, *A merry Countenance at an ill game*; and ſhadowing his diſcontent with an apparent joy, but not knowing how to return without ſhame, nor how to ſtay longer without any fruit: The

King, who would not give him ſubject to ſay that he had treated him with the utmoſt rigour, gave him to underſtand, that if the Marquiſate was ſo commodious to him, and that he could not reſtore it without a notable inconveniency, he would be content to take *la Breſſe* in exchange. This Condition ſeemed no leſs hard to the Duke then that of the reſtitution of the Marquiſate: however, that he might have ſome pretext to retire with honour, he ſeemed not averſe to it; and there were ſome Articles drawn up, which he profeſſed were not diſagreeable to him: But he demanded time to conſider of the Alternative of the Reſtitution or Change, and to take advice of the Grandees of his Eſtate on ſo important a thing. There were granted him to this purpoſe three entire moneths, which was to the end of *February* in the year ſixteen hundred.

The King propoſes to the Duke the exchange of the Marquiſate for *la Breſſe.*

The Duke ſeems not averſe, but takes three moneths to conſider.

A little after he took leave of the King, who conducted him to *Pont de Charenton*; and gave order to the Baron of *Lux*, and to *Praſlin*, to accompany him to the Frontier. He returned by *Champagne* and *Bourgongne*, from which he entred *la Breſſe*, and went to the *Bourg*. They had great joy to ſee him arrived, becauſe they feared leſt he ſhould be arreſted in *France*. Indeed ſome there were would have counſelled the King to have kept him till ſuch time as he ſhould reſtore the Marquiſate; but the King, much offended at this Propoſition, anſwered in anger, *That they ſtudied to diſho-*

He takes leave of the King, who accompanies him to *Charenton.*

Some had counſelled the King to arreſt him.

The Kings noble Anſwer.

Part. III. *himself but that he should chuse rather to loose his Crown, then to incur the least suspition of having falsified his Faith, even to the greatest of his enemies.*

The three months expired, the King presses the Duke to chuse either the change or the restitution.

The three monethes being expired, and the Duke not having satisfied his promise, the King was troubled, and pressed him to resolve either on the one or the other interchanged. The Duke finds new delays, but promises him dayly that he will satisfie him. In the mean time he remonstrates to the Council of *Spain* the danger in which he was; that the loss of the Marquisate would put him in such an estate, that he should not have the power to serve the *Spaniards*: that it would open a door to the *French* to go trouble *Italy*; and that this tempest, after having laid waste his Country, would fall upon *Milain*. The Council of *Spain* apprehended well the importance; but acting very slowly, were a long time before they resolved. In fine, the Count of *Fuentes*, Governour of *Milain*, had order, but two monethes later then was necessary puissantly to assist this Prince. He came to this effect to *Milain*, but too late; where, with two Millions of Gold which were ready, he begins to make great preparations.

The Duke presses the Council of *Spain* to help him.

The Count of *Fuentes* comes to this purpose to *Milain*, but too late.

After that the Duke had by divers Artifices drawn out the Negotiation almost two monethes longer, the King, wearied with these delays, prepared himself to bind this *Proteus*, who changed himself into all sorts of forms; and to force him to give a certain answer.

ſwer. He advanced to *Lyons*, whither he had before ſent his Council. The Duke, knowing that he approached, had recourſe to other cunnings: he ſent to him three Ambaſſadours, who conjoyntly propoſed an Act; by which they declared that their Maſter was ready to accompliſh the Treaty made at *Paris*; and that he promiſed to reſtore the Marquiſate: but he of the three who had the ſecret, refuſed to ſigne the Articles till firſt the Duke had ſhewed them to his Councel, and ſigned them. By this trick the Duke yet gained ſeven or eight days time: but the King reſolved to preſs him to a concluſion, ſtill followed his trace, diſcovered his deceits, and left him no further ſubterfuge: he was forced therefore to anſwer poſitively; and he promiſed to ſurrender the Marquiſate by the ſixteenth of *August*.

The King again preſſes the Duke to chuſe the change or reſtitution.

He promiſes poſitively to ſurrender the Marquiſate.

Upon this aſſurance, the King cauſed to advance *le Bourg-l'Eſpinaſſe*, an old Colonel of Infantry, with the Troops of the *Suiſſes*, to take poſſeſſion of the Marquiſate. As he approached, the Duke took off his Mask, and anſwered clearly, That according to the Conditions propoſed, War was leſs ſharp to him then Peace. Wherefore the King was obliged to come to that point to which he had long foreſeen he ſhould come, to wit, an open War: he declared it therefore on the eleventh of the moneth of *Auguſt*; but with theſe expreſs terms, That he did it onely for the Marquiſate, and without prejudice to the

But when the King ſends his forces, he takes off his mask, and refuſes.

The King declares war againſt him.

Treaty

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Treaty of *Vervin*, which he deſired to obſerve inviolably.

He gives advice of it to the neighbouring Princes

At the ſame time he gave advice of this rupture to all the neighbouring Princes, and made them underſtand the juſt reaſons he had. “This great King knew well, that among “Chriſtians the breach of peace is extreamly odious; and that without reaſons, which “ſtrongly convince our ſpirits, we ought never to trouble the publick tranquillity.

* *Julius Cæſar would never let the tenth Legion fight but with him.*

He was at preſent at *Grenoble*, where he had to begin this War only three on four Companies of Ordinance. Some propoſed to him, to cauſe his Regiment of Guards to advance; he anſwered, that he would not ſend them from him; that they were the tenth Legion, which never fought without * *Cæſar*. But in a little time the *French* Nobility and the Adventurers flocked to him on all ſides, as as if they had come to a Marriage or a Ball.

Byron conquers all *la Breſſe*.

The Marſhal of *Byron*, though already diſguſted, having gathered ſome Troops, ſpoiled the Country of *Breſſe* in many places; with his Canon he forced the City of *Bourg*; but the Cittadel defended it ſelf better, and proved indeed the onely difficulty in this War. *Crequy* entring into *Savoy*, gained the City of *Montmelian* about midnight, but not the Caſtle.

The Pope Alarm'd at this War ſends to the King.

The Pope Alarm'd by the firſt ſparkles of this fire, and fearing leſt it ſhould enflame all *Italy*, imployed himſelf immediately to extinguiſh ſtinguiſh it: he diſpatcht a Prelate, who bore the title of Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, to remonſtrate unto him the inconveniences of this rupture, and to conjure him in the name of God not to paſs farther. The King aſſured him that he had no deſign to trouble the peace of *Italy*; that he was a Chriſtian and juſt Prince; that God had given him a Kingdom ſufficient to content him, but that he deſired to have what belonged to his Crown; that if he had had other more vaſt deſigns, he had made greater preparations.

The Kings good and Christian anſwer.

Few days after he departed, and entred himſelf into *Savoy*. His preſence ſo much aſtoniſhed the City of *Chamberry*, that they made the Gariſon depart by a quick Capitulation. He made himſelf after maſter of *Tarentaiſe* and *la Morienne*, by taking in two or three days the City of *Conſtans*, and that of *la Charbonniere*; which till then had paſſed for impregnable.

The King enters *Savoy*.

Yet the Duke of *Savoy* moved not; he was ſo little concerned, that he Hunted and Danced whilſt his Provinces were deſpoiling: he ſeemed not to be the adverſary but the ſpectator: his ſubjects likewiſe ſeemed not much aſtoniſhed at the Kings Progreſs; they ſaid, that if he took any places in *Savoy*, their Duke would take others in *France*. It could not be divined from whence this great ſecurity proceeded: ſome believed that the Duke aſſured himſelf on I know not what Prognoſtications of Aſtrologers, who had foretold, that

Yet the Duke ſtirs not.

He truſts ſome vain predictions of Aſtrologers.

that in the month of *Auguſt* there ſhould be no King in *France*; that which happened to be very true, for at that time he was victorious in the midſt of *Savoy*. Others believed that the Duke yet truſted to the intelligences he had with the Marſhal of *Biron*, whoſe fidelity much ſhaken by his artifices while he was in *France*, was now near entirely debauched by thoſe grand Subjects of diſcontent this Marſhal had received ſince this War. For the King teſtified, that he put not ſo much truſt in him, nor treated him with the ſame freedome he had done before; and he committed the principal direction of this Conqueſt to *Leſdiguieres*, who indeed better knew the Country, and the manner of making War in thoſe Mountains then he. This Preference furiouſly incenſed ſuch a high ſpirit, who believed nothing either could or ought to be done without him. Afterwards the refuſals of the King to give him the Government of the City of *Bourg*, put him quite out of his ſenſes. From this time he had none but extravagant and criminal thoughts, and began, as it was ſaid, to treat a League with the *Savoyard*, for the re-kindling a new Civil War in *France*. I cannot relate the particulars of this deſign, becauſe they were never well known.

or to *Byron*, much incenſed againſt the King.

The Duke of *Savoy* believed his Fortreſſes of *Montmelian* in *Savoy*, and of *Bourg* in *Breſſe* impregnable, repoſing the ſecurity of his Country upon them. He was much ſurprized to underſtand that the Marquis of *Brandis* Governour of the firſt, had capitulated to ſurrender it in a certain time. Upon it, he put himſelf in the field, and uſed all his endeavours to get into an eſtate to relieve it. He had recourſe to the aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards*; but the Count of *Fuentes*, who deſired to engage affairs farther, refuſed him forces in his need, and in the mean time the term of the capitulation being finiſhed, he loſt *Montmelian*, to the great aſtoniſhment of his Subjects, and no leſs ſhame to *Brandis*. Want of Victuals and Ammunition, made him likewiſe in ſome weeks loſe the Citadel of *Bourg*, which the Governour held out to the laſt extremity.

In fine, the Duke takes the field, but does nothing.

The Citadel of *Montmelian* taken,

and that of *Bourg*,

The King paſſing by the ſide of *Geneva*, ſubmitted the Country of the *Chablais* and the *Fauſſigni*. The inhabitants of *Geneva* took the Fort of St. *Katherine*, which the *Savoyards* had built to annoy them, and demoliſhed it. After the taking of this, the King would viſit *Geneva*, ſo famous for being one of the Ramparts of the Proteſtant Religion. *Theodorus Beza* the chief as well in age as in Doctrine of all the *Hugonot* Miniſters, made him a Speech in few words. The *Marſhal de Biron* having conſidered the place which the inhabitants had been forty years fortifying, with great care and expence, whether to make himſelf eſteemed a great Captain, or to ſhew the great zeal he had for the *Catholick* Religion, boaſted he could take it in twenty

and fort St. *Katherine*.

The King viſits *Geneva*.

twenty days. A ſpeech the King was not pleaſed with, becauſe *France* had taken it under its Protection, ſince the Reign of *Francis* the firſt; and was obliged to defend it againſt the Duke of *Savoy*, who pretended that Seigniory belonged to him.

The Pope endeavours a peace, and ſends to that purpoſe his Nephew Legat.

In the mean time, the Pope deſiring above all things to extinguiſh the fire of this War, had diſpatched towards the King and towards the Duke, his Nephew the Cardinal *Aldobrandin*, who inceſſantly laboured to make a peace. His greateſt difficulty was to find knots ſtrong and ſure enough to hold the Duke of *Savoy*; for thoſe of his promiſes and his faith, were ſo uncertain and ſo ſlippery, that he could not truſt them.

The King comes to *Lyons*, where his Queen expected him.

At the ſame time the King, whoſe thoughts of his marriage the War had not interrupted, imbarqued on the *Rhone*, and went down to *Lyons*; where the Queen his new Spouſe was arrived, and expected him.

The Legat likewiſe comes, and the Ambaſſadors of *Savoy*.

The Legat would not diſcontinue the Treaty of peace; he followed him to *Lyons* for that purpoſe; where he made his entrance fifteen days after the Queen. The Ambaſſadors of *Savoy* followed him; but their power was given in ſuch terms, that the Duke might find ways to diſavow it. However, when they ſaw the Citadel of *Bourg* reduced to extremity, they inſtantly ſollicited the Legat to renew the firſt earneſts of the Treaty. But he would do nothing till they had given it him in writing, that they beſought it for the good of their Maſters affairs.

When the Articles were drawn up and agreed, they were ſigned on the one part and the other; and the peace was publiſhed at *Lyons* the ſeventeenth of *January* 1601. by which the Duke yeilded to the King, and to his Succeſſors Kings of *France*, the Country and Seignories of *Breſſe*, *Bugey*, and *Veromey*, and generally all that appertained to him lying along the River *Rhone*, from the egreſs of *Geneva*; as likewiſe the Bailiwick and Barony of *Gex*: and that in exchange of the Marquiſate of *Saluces*, which the King abſolutely left to him, both for himſelf and his. The Treaty agreed likewiſe, that all the places taken by the King from the Duke of *Savoy*, ſhould be reſtored; but all the Kings pretended rights againſt the ſaid Duke, ſhould be reſerved to him, according as was contained in the Treaties of *Cateau* in *Cambreſis*, and of *Vervin*.

The peace agreed, ſigned and publiſhed at *Lyons*.

By this exchange, both the one and the other equally gained. The King for a Marquiſate of little extent, diſtant from all his Territories, and encompaſſed by thoſe of *Savoy*, and which he could not keep but by great Gariſons, which would conſume twice more then the Revenue it yeilded; gained a Country of more then twenty five Leagues extent, which was bounding upon his, which enlarged his Frontier, in which he had eight hundred Gentlemen, and which was very fertil and abundant, principally in paſtures to nouriſh

They both gain by the exchange.

Cattel. The Duke appropriating to himſelf the Marquiſate, took a troubleſome Thorn out of his foot, or rather a Sword which pierced through his body; and put himſelf in ſecurity. For whilſt the *French* held it, he durſt not go out of *Turin* but with three or four hundred horſe for his Convoy; and he was forced to maintain great Gariſons in the midle of his Country.

After, the King goes to *Paris* followed by the Queen. He carries her to ſee his buildings.

The Treaty being ſigned, the King departed from *Lyons* by Poſt, to return to *Paris*; whither the Queen followed him by little journies. Some time after her arrival, he led her to ſee his buildings of St. *Germain* in *Laye*. This was one of his delights, and certainly a very innocent one, and which agrees well with a powerful Prince, after he hath paid his great debts, and eaſed his people of their heavy load of oppreſſive Impoſitions.
“For by raiſing theſe proud Edifices, he
“leaves the fair marks of his greatneſs and
“riches to poſterity; he embelliſhes his
“Kingdom, attracts the admiration of his
“people, makes ſtrangers know that his Cof-
“fers ſwell with Treaſure, gives life and
“bread to a great number of poor handy-
“crafts-men, labours profitably for his own
“conveniency and for that of his Succeſſors;
“and in fine, makes Architecture, Sculpture,
“and painting flouriſh, which have ever
“beeen infinitely eſteemed by all the moſt
“Polite nations of the world.

Our *Henry* took not this divertiſement, but to recreate his ſpirit after labours, and not to imploy it. "For he had his ſoul too great, "and his genius too elevated, to dedicate it ſelf "wholly to ſuch mean things, much leſs to fix "it on vain amuſements. It is true, that he "built, that he hunted, that he was merry; "but this was without diverting himſelf too "much from his affairs, without abandoning "the helme of his eſtate, which he held as "firmely and diligently during the Calme, as "during the Tempeſt.

Part III. He divertiſed, but never employed himſelf about buildings. *An excellent reflexion.*

Moreover, he had a care not to grow ſleepy whilſt it was fair weather, which is often deceitful: for beſides that a good King ought to labour within his Eſtate during peace, as well as without during war; he knew that the *Spaniard* and the *Savoyard* ſtill grumbled, and contrived in their hearts ſome enterprize againſt him. The Count of *Fuentes* having raiſed a great army to aſſiſt the *Savoyard*, was troubled that the peace had deprived him of the occaſion to employ them. Some places he had taken in *Picardy* during the War between the two Crowns, had created a vanity in him, and made him believe that he ſhould alwaies gain the advantage over the *French*. At the ſame time the King of *Spain* had put to ſea a Naval Army, commanded by one *Doria*; which had without doubt ſome deſigne on *Provence*, if the peace had not been made. And though it was concluded, *Fuentes* ceaſed not to make an attempt of an enterprize upon *Marſeilles*,

Count *Fuentes* would ſurprize *Marſeilles* to break the peace.

Part III. *Marſeilles*, to cauſe a rupture. Thoſe with whom he held intelligence to this purpoſe, offered the King to draw ſix or ſeven hundred men into the ſnare, and keep them priſoners, or cut them in pieces. But the King judged not ſo little advantage to countervail the giving ſubject to the enemies to break the peace, and to re-enter into a War; which might have proved very dangerous, they being ſo powerfully Armed. Moreover, he feared leſt there were ſtill in his Eſtate ſome fire concealed under the embers; which on the noiſe of a War, might more facilely make their attempts upon his perſon. For to tell the truth, he had more reaſon to fear their Knives and Daggers then their Swords. He therefore wiſely diſſembled this enterprize, and anſwered the *Marſeillians*; *That he knew not how to ſteal a victory; that ambuſcadoes were not honeſt, but onely during War; and that it was neceſſary for his honour to take heed that he did not in any manner contribute to that rupture, the enemies had a deſign to make.*

His people might be intrapped by counter-intelligence; but the King will not.

In fine, the *Spaniards* having found that this wiſe *Argus* had too many eyes, and too much vigilance to be ſurprized on any ſide, reſolved to employ their Arms in pious and honorable enterprizes. A part of their Land-Army paſſed into *Hungary*, which was at that preſent aſſaulted by the *Turks*. The Duke of *Mercœur* being gone to ſeek in that Country a juſter glory, then in the Civil-wars of *France*, commanded the Emperours forces.

The *Spaniards* turn their Arms againſt the Infidels.

The Duke of *Mercœur* commands the Emperors forces and dies.

He made known to the Infidels, by many gallant exploits, particularly by the memorable retreat of *Caniſe*, that the *French* valour was choſen by God to ſuſtain the Chriſtian Religion. Nor was there any doubt made, but that he would have quite chaſed them out of that Kingdom, of which they had invaded more then one half, if he had not died the year following of a burning Feavour, which ſeized him at *Nurembourg*, as he was about to go pay his devotions at the Shrine of the Lady of *Loretto*.

There arrived ſome time after an accident by which the King took occaſion to let the *Spaniards* know, that he could not ſuffer any thing againſt his honour, nor againſt the dignity of his eſtate. *Rochepot* was his Embaſſador in *Spain*. Some Gentlemen of his train, of which one was his Nephew, waſhing in the river chanced to have a quarrel with ſome *Spaniards*; and killing two, ſaved themſelves in the Ambaſſadors houſe. The friends of the ſlain ſo much excited the people, that they beſieged the houſe, and were ready to put fire to it. The Magiſtrate, to prevent the Tragick effects of this fury, was conſtrained to do an injuſtice, and to violate the freedom of the Ambaſſadors houſe; for he ſeized by force, and led the accuſed to priſon. The King of *Spain* being troubled that he had violated the right of Nations, ſent him to demand pardon of the Ambaſſador; yet the *French* men ſtill remained priſoners.

Gentlemen of the Ambaſſador of *France* in *Spain*; kill ſome *Spaniards*.

The Magiſtrate violates the freedom of the Ambaſſadors houſe, and takes them out.

Diſcourſe of the freedom of Ambaſſadors Palaces.

There were made many diſcourſes and writings concerning the rights and priviledges of Ambaſſadors. It is true, ſaid they, that an Ambaſſador hath alone right of Soveraign Juſtice in his Palace; but the people of his train are ſubject to the Juſtice of the eſtate in which they are, for thoſe faults they commit out of his Palace; and ſo if they be taken out of it, their Proceſs may be made: and though it be known that this rigour is not generally obſerved, and that the reſpect born to the Ambaſſadors perſon, extends to all thoſe that follow him; yet however this is a courteſie, and not a right. But notwithſtanding it is not permitted to go ſeek the Criminal in the Palace of the Ambaſſador, which is a ſacred place, and a certain Sanctuary for his people; yet ought it not however to be abuſed, or made a retreat for wicked perſons, nor give Sanctuary to the Subjects of a Prince againſt the Laws and Juſtice of his Realm: for in ſuch caſes, on complaint to his Maſter, he is obliged to do reaſon.

The King being offended, recals his Ambaſſador.

Now the King being offended, as he ought to be, at the injury done to *France* in the perſon of his Ambaſſador, and not judging the ſatisfaction the Magiſtrate had given him ſufficient; commands him immediately to return; which he did, without taking leave of the King of *Spain*. He forbade likewiſe at the ſame time, all Commerce with *Spaniards*: and foreſeeing that in theſe beginnings of the rupture, they might enterprize ſomewhat on the Towns of *Picardy*, he with great diligence departed from *Paris* to viſit that Frontier, and came to *Calais*.

And goes in haſte to *Calais* to viſit his Frontier.

The people, who began to taſte the ſweetneſs of repoſe, and to Till their lands with patience, trembled, for fear leſt a new War ſhould expoſe them once more to the Licenſe of the Souldiers. But God had pity of theſe poor people: The Pope becoming mediatour to remedy thoſe miſchiefs which threatned *Chriſtendom*, happily accommodated the difference. The *Spaniard* remitted the Proceſs and the Priſoners; whom his Holineſs conſigned ſome days after into the hands of the Count of *Bethune*, Ambaſſador for *France* at *Rome*; and the King afterwards ſent an Ambaſſador into *Spain*, which was the Count of *Barrault*.

The Pope undertakes to accommodate the difference, and doth it.

Whilſt the King was at *Calais*, whither as we have ſaid he went, the Arch-Duke who was before *Oſtend*, where he continued that Siege * the moſt famous that ever was ſince that of *Troy*, feared with ſome reaſon, leſt the Kings approach ſhould retard the progreſs of his enterprize, in which he had already loſt ſo many men, ſo much time ſpent, ſo many Cannot ſhot, ſo much money, and ſuch ſtores of Ammunition: he ſent therefore to complement him, promiſing him on the part of *Spain* ſatisfaction for the violence done to the Lodgings of his Ambaſſador; but intreating him, that the beſieged might not prevail themſelves of this Conjuncture.

The Arch-Duke beſieging *Oſtend*, ſends to complement the King.

* *This ſiege laſted three years, three months, and three days.*

Part III.

The King returns the civility to the Arch-Duke.

The King who never let himſelf be overcome by Courteſie no more then by Arms, ſent the Duke of *Aiguillon*, eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Mayenne*, to aſſure him that he deſired to maintain the peace; that he was not advanced on the Frontiers but to diſſipate ſome deſigns which were contriving; and that he hoped in the equity of the King of *Spain*, which he doubted not would do him reaſon.

The Queen of *England* ſends likewiſe to complement him: and he anſwers it by *Byron*.

VVhilſt he was at *Calais*, Queen *Elizabeth* ſent likewiſe to viſit him, by my Lord *Edmonds* her principal Confident. For anſwer to which obliging civility, he cauſed the Marſhal of *Byron* to paſs into *England*, accompanied by the Count *d' Auvergne*, and the choice of all the Nobility of the Court, to repreſent to her the diſpleaſure the King had, finding himſelf ſo near her, that he could not enjoy the ſight of her.

To whom ſhe ſhews the Earl of *Eſſex* head.

This Queen endeavoured by all means poſſible, to make known to the *French* her greatneſs and power. One day holding *Byron* by the hand, ſhe ſhewed him a great number of heads planted on the Tower of *London*, telling him that in that manner they puniſhed Rebels in *England*, and recounting to him the reaſons ſhe had to put to death the Earl of *Eſſex*, whom ſhe had once ſo tenderly loved. Thoſe who heard the diſcourſe, remembred it afterwards, when they ſaw the Marſhal *Byron* fallen into the ſame misfortune, and loſe his head, after having loſt the favour of his King.

The King & Queen enjoy the *Jubilee* at *Orleans*.

We muſt not forget, how that before the King made his voyage to *Calais*, he had led the Queen with him to enjoy the *Jubilee* in the City of *Orleans*, where the holy Father had ordained the Stations for *France* to begin. His piety which was ſincere and unfeigned, gave a fair Example to his people, who ſee him go to Proceſſions with great devotion, and pray to God with no leſs attention; his heart agreeing with his lips. He laid the firſt ſtone to the foundation of the Church of the holy Croſs at *Orleans*, which the *Hugonots* had miſerably thrown down, forty years before, and gave a conſiderable ſum of money to rebuild it.

All *France* during this holy *Jubilee*, had inſtantly demanded of Heaven that it would be pleaſed to give them a *Daulphine*, to deliver them from thoſe misfortunes wherein they ſhould be plunged, if the King ſhould die without Male-children. Their vows were heard, and the Queen happily brought to bed of a Son at *Fontainbleau*, on the day of St. *Coſme*, being the twenty ſeventh of *September*. They gave him at his Baptiſm the Name of *Lewis*, ſo ſweet and dear to *France* for the memory of the great St. *Lewis*, and of the good King *Lewis xii.* Father of the people. Afterwards was appropriated to him the ſurname of *Juſt*; and we at preſent believe his having been the Father of *Lewis the wiſe and victorious*, none of the leaſt worthy of his Titles.

The Queen brought to bed of a *Daulphine*, who is named *Lewis*, after ſurnamed *The Juſt*.

His Birth was preceded by a great Earthquake, which happened some days before. The Birth was very hard, and the Infant laboured till he was all of a purple colour, which possibly ruined within him the principal Organs of Health and good Constitution. The King invoking on him the Benediction of Heaven, gave him likewise his, and put his Sword in his hands, praying to God, *That he would give him the grace to use it only for his glory, and for the defence of the people.* The Princes of the Blood which were with him in the Chamber of the Queen, all of them saluted the *Daulphin* one after another. In one hour express Curriers carried this News to all the Provinces, the publick rejoycings throughout the whole Kingdome, particularly in the great City of *Paris*, who as much loved *Henry* the great, as they had hated his Predecessor; the Complements the King received on his part from all the Potentates of *Europe*, and the accustomed Present of the holy Father in like occasions; to wit, the blessed swathing bands, which he sent by *Maffeo Barberino*, who was afterwards Cardinal and Pope, named *Urban* the *viii*.

The King gives him his blessing, and puts his Sword in his hands.

Five days before, the Queen of *Spain* was brought to bed of her first Childe, which was a Daughter, whom at the Font of Baptism they named *Anne*. The *Spaniards* rejoyced no less then if it had been a Son, for in that Country the Females succeed to the Crown. Those amongst the *French* who penetrated far-

Birth of the Infanta of *Spain*, named *Anne*; who after espoused King *Lewis* *xiii*,

Part IIII

[illegible] the King [illegible] took likewise part in this joy, but for another reaſon, which was, that this Princeſs being of the ſame age with the *Dauphin*, it ſeemed that Heaven had made the one be born for the other, and that ſhe ought one day be his Spouſe, as in effect *Lewis XIII* had this happineſs, and *France* ſtill poſſeſſes it, admiring in all occaſions the rare Wiſdom, the exemplary Piety, and heroick Conſtancy of this great Princeſs.

The King makes divers Orders for the good of the Eſtate.

In acknowledgement of the grace which God had done to the King in giving him a *Dauphin*, which was the ſum of his wiſhes, he redoubled his care and diligence to acquit himſelf well of what he ought to his Eſtate, to better, as he ſaid, the ſucceſſion of his Son. We will here recount ſome Eſtabliſhments and Orders he made to that purpoſe.

He ſuppreſſes the Triennial Officers for Revenues.

Need of monies having obliged him during the Siege of *Amiens* to create Triennial Officers in his Revenues; when it was paſſed, he knew that there was no need of ſo many people to rifle his purſe; and that it was impoſſible but ſome little ſhould every day remain in the hands of every one of theſe: and therefore he ſuppreſſed theſe new Officers, and commanded that the ancient and Alternative ones ſhould re-imburſe the Triennial. From this ſuppreſſion were excepted the Treaſurers of the Exchequer, and thoſe of caſual Forfeitures or Fines.

Roſny had ſo well bridled both the Gatherers and the Farmers, that they could no longer

er devour thoſe great Morſels they did heretofore. But this was not yet enough; they were in ſuch manner gorged before he was Superintendent, that the King with infinite juſtice ordained a Tribunal, compoſed of a certain number of Judges choſen out of the Soveraign Courts, and called it, *The Chamber-Royal*; whom he charged to make an exact ſearch of the miſdemeanours of thoſe who had managed the Kings monies. This Chamber made a great many diſembogue; however, a great part found the means to eſcape them; ſome out of a Conſideration of their Alliances, others by force of money, gaining thoſe who were near the King, principally his Miſtreſſes, and corrupting the Judges themſelves. “So much is it true that Gold pierces
“every where, and that nothing is proof a-
“gainſt this pernitious Metal. We need not
“then wonder if thoſe people filled their Cof-
“fers as full as they could, ſince the fuller
“they heaped them, the more facile was their
“juſtification.

He eſtabliſheth a Chamber of Juſtice to call Treaſurers and Collectors to account.

I have already ſaid it, and I ſay it again, (for it cannot be too often nor too much obſerved) that there is no remedy to hinder this diſorder, which is the greateſt of all diſorders in the Eſtate, and the cauſe of all others, ſave onely the vigilance and exactneſs of the King.
“He muſt himſelf hold the ſtrings of his purſe,
“have his eye ſtill upon his Coffers, know
“punctually what is in them, what comes out
“of them, what ways his monies are ſent, to

The onely remedy againſt their thefts.

“what uſes they are employed; who are they
“that manage them: and above all, he muſt
“make them give a good account, as our Hen-
“ry did, that if they be honeſt men, they can-
“not be corrupted; and if they are knaves,
“not have the means to act their knavery.

He was made to know, that there were two other diſorders in his Realm which extreamly impoveriſhed it, and drew from it all the Gold and Silver. The one was the tranſportation of it to ſtrange Countries, into *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Switzerland*, where the little Potentates melted it, and made money of a baſer Alloy. The other, was the Luxury which conſumed likewiſe a great quantity in Embroyderies; Silver and Gold Lace on Cloaths, and no leſs in the gilding of Wainſcots and Chimnies, and divers Moveables.

The King prohibites the tranſport of gold or ſilver out of his Kingdome,

He made two ſevere Edicts, which prohibited theſe two abuſes. For the firſt, he renewed the antient Orders concerning the tranſport of Gold and Silver; adding the puniſhment of the Halter to the Tranſgreſſors; and commanding all Governours to watch diligently the Obſervation of theſe his Prohibitions, and not to give any Paſs-ports to the contrary; otherwiſe he declared them partakers in ſuch Tranſports.

and wearing gold and ſilver lace, or gildings.

By the ſecond, he prohibited under the penalty of great Fines for the firſt time, and of Impriſonment for the ſecond, the wearing of Gold and Silver upon Cloaths, or employing it in Gildings. This Edict was rigorouſly obſer-

ved,

Part. III.

vely, becauſe it excepted no perſon; the King himſelf ſubmitting to the Law he made, and having looked with an ill Countenance on a Prince of the Blood who obeyed not this Reformation.

Introduces the manufacture of ſilk into France.

There was likewiſe expended a prodigious quantity of money in Silks; by the buying of which, all our money was gotten into ſtrangers hands. The King ſeeing that, and conſidering that the uſe of theſe Stuffs was very good and commodious, thought it beſt to introduce the Manufacture into *France*; to the end the *French* might gain what was now gained by the ſtrangers. To this purpoſe he gave order for the planting of a great number of white Mulberry-trees in thoſe Countries where they would beſt thrive, and particularly in *Touraine*, to nouriſh Silk-worms; and that people ſhould be provided who underſtood how to prepare the Webs, and put to work the labour of theſe pretious Caterpillers.

If care had been taken after his death to maintain this Order, and to extend it to other Provinces, it might have ſpared *France* more then five Millions, which it every year ſends out to provide ſilk Stuffs; beſides a Million of perſons, uſeleſs for other labours, as are old people, Maids and Children, might have gained a living by it, and the Employers more eaſily have afforded to pay the Impoſts and Taxes out of the profit they had made of their induſtry.

There was yet a much greater miſchief, which, The uſury exceſſive in *France*, which cauſed

the ruine of the beſt families,

and the Merchants to abandon all traffick.

which, as we may ſay, dryed up the very Intrails of the Kingdom; this was the exceſſive Uſury. The ill Husbands, that is to ſay, the greateſt part of the Nobility, borrowed money at ten or twelve in the hundred. In which there was two great inconveniences. The firſt, That the Intereſts undermining by little and little in ſeven or eight years, dug up the foundations of the richeſt and moſt ancient Houſes, which are, as we may ſay, the Props and Pillars that uphold the State. The ſecond, That the Merchants finding this convenience of laying out their money to ſo great profit, and without any hazard, abſolutely abandoned all Commerce; the ſtreams of which once dryed up, there muſt needs follow a famine of Gold and Silver in the Kingdome: for *France* hath no other Mines then its Traffick, and the diſtribution of its Merchandizes.

The King reduces intereſts to ſix in the hundred.

These Conſiderations obliged the King not onely to prohibit all Uſuries, but lay a penalty of the Confiſcation of the ſum lent, and great Fines beſide. Afterwards the Parliament deputed ſome Counſellours in all Provinces to make inquiſition after Uſurers, and to reduce all Intereſts or Hypothecated Rents to ſix and a half in the hundred. They were before at ten or twelve, as we have ſaid. The reaſon of which was, becauſe when they were conſtituted, money was much more ſcarce: now ſince it was extreamly multiplyed, ſince the diſcovery of the Indies, it was juſt to abate its in-

Part III. intereſts: And it was for this reaſon that it was afterwards put at ſix, and may poſſibly one day be reduced lower.

His great care to enrich his Kingdom.

Out of the ſame deſigne to enrich his people, and to bring abundance and plenty into his Kingdome, the King continually received all Propoſals which might ſerve to enlarge Commerce, to bring Commodity to his people, and to till and make fruitfull the moſt ſterile places. He endeavoured as much as was poſſible to make Rivers Navigable. He cauſed to be repaired all Bridges and Cauſways, and the great Roads to be paved; knowing that whilſt they are not well kept, Carriages find but a difficult paſſage, and Commerce is by that means interrupted. From whence happen the ſame diſorders in the œconomy of an Eſtate, as doth in that of a mans body, when it findes Obſtructions, and when the paſſage of the blood and ſpirits are not free.

When he paſſed through the Countries, he curiouſly regarded all things, took notice of the neceſſities and diſorders, and immediately remedied all with a great diligence. Under his favour and protection were eſtabliſhed in many places of the Kingdom Manufactures of Linen and Woollen Cloths, Laces, Iron-ware, and many other things.

He favours the eſtabliſhment of manufactures.

After his example, all labour for their benefit.

After his example, the Burgeſſes repaired their houſes which the War had ruined. The Gentlemen having laid by their Arms with onely a ſwitch in their hand, dedicated themſelves to manage their Eſtates, and augment their Revenues. All the people were attentive to their work: and it was a wonder to ſee this Kingdom, which five or ſix years before had been, as we may ſay, a Den of Serpents and venemous Beaſts, being filled with Thieves, Robbers, Vagrants, Rake-hells and Beggers, changed by the diligence of the King into a Hive of innocent Bees; who ſtrove, as it were, with envy to each other, to give proofs of their induſtry, and to gather Wax and Honey. Idleneſs was a ſhame, and a kinde of Crime; and indeed it is, as the Proverb ſays, the Mother of all Vices. “*That ſpirit which takes no care* “*to employ it ſelf ſeriouſly in ſomething, is un-* “*profitable to it ſelf and pernitious to the publick.* And for theſe Reaſons did the Provoſts in that time make diligent ſearch after Loyterers, Vagabonds, and idle perſons; and ſent them to ſerve the King in his Gallies, to oblige them perforce to work.

His great care to enrich his Kingdom.

Idleneſs puniſhed.

1602.

The King remedies two things capable to overthrow *France*.

There is no happineſs ſo ſtable and aſſured, but it may be eaſily troubled: there arrived this year two things which might have overturned all *France*; had not the King in a good hour ſubverted them.

The Aſſembly of the Notables or Chiefs at *Rouen*, which was held in the year 1596, to raiſe money for the King to continue the War and pay his debts, had granted him, as we have ſaid, the impoſition of a *Sol pour livre* on all Merchandizes carried into walled Cities. “The Eſtate (ſays *Tacitus*, the greateſt Polici-

“tian

Part III. (among Hiſtorians) cannot be [illegible] "ed without Forces, nor the Forces [illegible] "Payment, nor they paid without [illegible] "ons: by conſequence therefore they are ne- "ceſſary; and it is juſt that every one ſhould "contribute to the expences of the State of "which he makes a part, as well as partake of "thoſe Conveniences and that protection he "enjoys. But theſe impoſitions ought to be "moderate, proportionate to the power of "every one; and every one ought to bear his "part. Moreover, it ſhould be eaſie to per- "ceive that the expence of raiſing them ex- "ceed not the principal; that they be not "laid ſo, as to appear odious, as on thoſe Commo- "dities which nouriſh the poor; and that, in "fine, they be blood drawn gently from the "veins, and not marrow forced from the "bones. Now the impoſition of a *Sol pour livre* was of this nature. It was very oppreſſive: for in every City they ſearched the Merchants Goods, opened their Bales, and ſaw what every one brought: ſo that liberty was quite loſt in the Kingdom. Moreover, it was exceſſive: for any Merchandiſe being ſold twelve times ſold, it was found that it paid as much Impoſt as it was worth. Moreover, there was great expence in the ſale of it: for men were forced to employ ſo many Factors as would have compoſed an Army; who [illegible] all to make themſelves rich as well as their Maſters, were ſo vexatious to the Merchants, that they became deſperate. And it

The tax of a *Sol pour livre* burthenſome.

was

[illegible] were [illegible] ers to their [illegible], [illegible] their violences, and [illegible] all Complaints [illegible] of [illegible] ours [illegible] had

The People are always subject to this Criminal Errour, That when Justice is denied them, they may do it themselves; and have recourse to force, when their prayers cannot prevail. This is the cause of almost all Seditions; and this it is which made all those beyond the Loire, incensed at this Imposition, drive away the Factors, and, which is more, kill some of them. The [illegible] on the other side [illegible] the [illegible] by their [illegible], that they would dismantle the rebellious Cities, that they would build Citadels to keep them in awe. And I believe that these Counsellors did desire it should be so; not out of love to the Kings Authority, which they had only in their mouths, but for their private revenges and particular advantages.

It causes commotions in the Provinces.

The King having advice of these Commotions, fearing lest they were raised by the Emissaries of the faction of the Duke of Biron, which he had then newly discovered, a little after *Easter* departed from *Fontainbleau*, came to *Blois*, and from thence to *Poictiers*. There he favourably hearkned to the complaints of his people, and remonstrated to the Deputies of the Cities of *Guyenne*, *That the* [illegible] *raised were not to enrich his Ministers and Favourites, as his predecessors had done;*

The King, to appease them, goes to *Poictiers*.

His wise and just remonstance to the Deputies of *Guyenne*.

but

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one to ſupport the neceſſary charges of the Eſtate. *That if his means had been ſufficient to pay for it, he would not have taken any thing out of their purſes; but ſince he had ſold almoſt all his * own, it was juſt they ſhould aſſiſt him with ſome ſmal of theirs. That he paſſionately deſired the eaſe of his Subjects; and that none of his Predeceſſors had ſo much deſired in their prayers to God, to bleſs the increaſe of his Realm; That the ſuſpicions having given them that he had a deſigne to build Caſtles in the Cities, were falſe and ſeditious; for he deſired to have no other Forts than in the Hearts of his Subjects.*

Laffin diſcovers it to the King.

* *He had ſold the Lands of his Patrimony.*

By theſe ſweet Remonſtrances, he calmed all the ſeditions, without having need of chaſtiſing them, ſave onely that the Conſuls of *Limoges* were depoſed, and the *Pancarte* (for ſo it was they called the *Sol pour livre*) aboliſhed. But this was onely for the honour of the Royal Authority: for ſoon after, this Prince, the moſt juſt and beſt that ever was, knowing the extream Vexations it cauſed, revoked and utterly aboliſhed it.

He calms the ſeditions, and revokes the *Sol pour livre*.

The ſecond thing which gave him yet more trouble, and which was capable to overthrow his Kingdome if it were not remedied, was, The Conſpiracy of Marſhal *Byron*. It is to be underſtood, that *Laffin* had been the principal Inſtrument of intelligence between the Marſhal and the Duke of *Savoy*: He had carried and re-carried Letters, and had had ſome Conferences with the Duke and with the Count of *Fuentes*; ſo that he underſtood the whole Intrigue.

Conſpiracy of the Marſhal *Byron*.

trigue; But ſeeing that there was no aſſurance in the words of the *Savoyard*, and that *Byron* began to ſhake, he reſolved to diſcover the whole plot to the King; were it that he feared leſt if he ſhould too long delay it, it might be diſcovered other ways; or that he hoped by this ſervice to gain a great recompence, and reſtore himſelf to the Kings favour, with whom he ſtood on very ill terms.

Laffin diſcovers it to the King.

Having laid this deſigne, he employed the * Vidame of *Chartres* his Nephew, to obtain from the King his Grace and Oblivion of all paſſed, on condition that he diſcovered to him the Complices of the Conſpiracy, and furniſhed him with proofs. He had preſerved ſeveral Letters committed to his keeping; but they ſaid not enough, nor ſpoke ſo clearly as to make a Conviction. But to paſs an abſolute one, ſee what he did.

* Vidame *is a Lord who holds his Lordſhip in Fief of a Biſhop.*

Byron had ſome Notes written with his own hand, wherein the Conſpiracy was laid down in Articles. *Laffin* remonſtrated to him, that it was an imprudence to keep them, and to communicate them, because his writing was ſo well known; that it would be more ſecure to make a Copy, and burn the Originals. *Byron* approving his counſel, gives them him to tranſcribe. He indeed tranſcribes them whilſt *Byron* lay on his Bed; afterwards giving him the Copy, and ruffling up the Original, he makes ſhew of caſting it into the fire; but by a premeditated cunning, he caſts in ſome other Papers, and keeps them. A thing of this

How he got the Notes written with *Byron*'s own hand.

importance deſerved well the care of *Byron* himſelf in its burning: But he not taking it, becauſe God ſo permitted, that negligence coſt him his life, as we ſhall ſee.

After this, *Laffin* continuing ſtill his devices to endeavour yet to gather ſome more particular ſecrets, he went diſguiſed to *Milan*, and conferred with the Count *Fuentes*: but this ſubtle and able *Spaniard*, finding well that he would betray them, ſhewed himſelf more reſerved. It hath been reported, that *Laffin* having knowledge of this diſtruſt, was fearful leſt he ſhould make him away; and therefore returned by the unuſual and unfrequented ways: of which the Duke of *Savoy* being advertized by *Fuentes*, kept priſoner the Secretary of *Laffin* named *Renaze*, for fear leſt he ſhould go ſerve as a witneſs againſt *Byron*.

The Duke of *Savoy* keeps *Renaze Laffins* Secretary.

Propoſitions betwixt *Byron*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Count *Fuentes*.

In their Conferences they had propoſed to diſmember the Kingdom of *France*: That the Duke of *Savoy* ſhould have *Provence* and the *Dauphinate*; *Byron*, *Bourgongne* and *la Breſſe*, with the third Daughter of the Duke in marriage, and fifty thouſand Crowns for Dower: ſome others ſhould be Lords of other Provinces, with the quality of Peers: That all theſe little Soveraigns ſhould hold their right from the King of *Spain*: That to compaſs this deſigne, the *Spaniards* ſhould with a puiſſant Army enter the Kingdom, and the *Savoyard* with another: That they ſhould cauſe the *Huguenots* to ſtir, and at the ſame time revive many diſcontents in ſeveral places, and animate the people already much incenſed by the *Pancarte*, or Tax of a *Sol pour livre*.

All theſe propoſitions, ſay ſome, were made in the time of the war againſt *Savoy*; and the Marſhal of *Byron* grown outragious, at the Kings refuſal to give him the Citadel of *Bourg*, had not only lent his eare, but had engaged himſelf very far in theſe damnable deſigns. However, he ſeemed to have repented himſelf; for he had confeſſed them to the King walking with him in the Cloiſter of the *Cordeliers* at *Lions*, and had demanded pardon of him; but he had neglected to take an abolition or ſcript of indemnity, contrary to the advice of the Duke d'*Espernon*, who was more wiſe and conſiderate then he.

Byron had demanded pardon of the King, but after fell again.

But a little after, repenting himſelf for having repented, he was returned to his firſt fault, and yet entertained correſpondence with ſtrangers. Moreover, he ſpoke of the King with little reſpect, abaſing the ſplendor of his worthy actions, glorifying his own, and boaſting that he had put the Crown on his head, and preſerved *France*. In fine, all his diſcourſes were onely Bravadoes, Rhodomontadoes, and Threats.

He ſpeaks ill of the King, and boaſts exceſſively of himſelf.

All this was reported to the King: It was told him that he undervalued his great acts, extolled the power of the King of *Spain*, praiſed the wiſdome of that Princes Council, his liberality in recompencing all good ſervices, and his zeal to defend the true Religion. The King anſwered plainly and prudently to thoſe that made him theſe reports; *That he knew the heart of Byron, that it was faithful and affectionate; that in truth his tongue was intemperate; but that in favour of thoſe good actions he had done, he could pardon his ill diſcourſes.*

Two things compleat his loſs.

Now two things compleated his loſs, and obliged the King to ſearch into the very bottom of his wicked deſigns. The firſt was the too great number of his friends, and the affection of the Souldiery, which he made boaſt of, as if they had been abſolute dependants on his Command, and capable to do whatever he would. The ſecond, the moſt particular friendſhip he had with the *Count d'Auvergne*, brother by the Mothers ſide to *Madamoiſelle d'Entragues*, who was called the Marchioneſs of *Verneuil*. For by the one he begat a jealouſie in the King, and made himſelf be feared; and by the other he rendred himſelf odious to the Queen, who imagined, and poſſibly not without cauſe, that he would make a party in the Kingdom to maintain that Ryval and her Children to her prejudice.

Laffin comes to Court, and reveals all to the King.

Now the King deſiring to ſearch the fartheſt he could into this affair, ſends for *Laffin*, who comes to *Fountain-bleau*, more then a month before the King departed towards *Poictou*. He had at firſt ſome very ſecret entertainments with him, afterwards very publick ones; and gave him great quantities of Papers; amongſt other, thoſe *Memoires* or Notes written by *Byrons* own hand, of which we have before ſpoken. That which *Laffin* revealed to the King, begat great inquietudes in his ſpirit; ſo that in all the voyage of *Poictiers* he was obſerved extremely penſive; and the Court after his example was plunged in a ſad aſtoniſhment; though none could divine the cauſe of it.

The King ſends for *Byron* to Court, who at firſt excuſes himſelf.

At his return from *Poictiers* to *Fountain-bleau*, he ſent for the Duke of *Byron* to come to him. The Duke at firſt doubted to go, and excuſed himſelf with many weak reaſons. He preſſes him, and ſends to him ſome of his Eſquires; afterwards the Preſident *Jeannin* brought him word that he ſhould receive no harme; which was, provided he put himſelf into an eſtate to receive grace, and aggravated not his crime, by his pride and by his impenitence.

Byron knew that *Laffin* had made a voyage to Court; but he was more aſſured of that man then of himſelf. Moreover the Baron of *Lux* his confident, who was then there, had told him that *Laffin* had without doubt kept his Counſel, and not revealed any thing which might hurt him. *De Lux* believed ſo, becauſe the King after having entertained *Laffin*, had told him with a merry countenance, *I am glad I have ſeen this man; he hath eaſed me of many diſtruſts and ſuſpitions of ſpirit.*

In the mean time the friends of *Byron* writ to him, that he ſhould not be ſuch a fool as to bring his head to the Court; that it would be more ſecure for him to juſtifie himſelf by

Apology then in person. But notwithstanding this advice, and against the opinion of his own friends, after having some time deliberated, he took post and came to *Fontainebleau* again when the King no longer expected him, but prepared to go seek him.

In the end *Byron* comes.

The Histories of that time, and many other relations, recount exactly all the circumstances of the imprisonment, process, and death of that Marshal. I shall content my self to relate only the chief.

The insolence and blindness of this unhappy man cannot be sufficiently admired, nor on the contrary the goodness and clemency of the King be enough praised, who endeavoured to overcome his obstinacy. "Confession of a fault is the first mark of "repentance. The King taking him in private, instantly conjured him to declare all those intelligences and Treaties he had made with the Duke of *Savoy*; engaging his faith that he would bury all in an eternal oblivion: That he knew well enough all the particulars, but desired to understand them from his mouth: declaring to him, that though his fault should be greater then the worst of crimes, his confession should be followed by an absolute pardon. *Byron* instead of acknowledging it, or at least excusing himself with modesty, as speaking to his King who was offended, insolently answered him, that he was innocent, and that he was not come to justifie himself, but to understand the names of his back-biters, and

The King conjures him the first time to confess the truth.

He insolently vindicates himself.

demand

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demand justice, which otherwise he would render himself. Though this too haughty answer aggravated much his offence, the King ceased not sweetly to tell him, that he should think further of it, and that he hoped he would take better counsel.

In the end Byron comes.

The same day after supper, the Count of *Soissons* exhorted him likewise, on the part of the King, to confess the truth; concluding his Remonstrance with this sentence of the Wise man; *Sir, know that the anger of the King is the Messenger of Death.* But he answered him with more fierceness then he had done the King.

The King prayes the Count of *Soissons* to exhort him to confess his crime. But he is more obstinate.

On the morrow morning the King walking in his Garden, conjured him the second time to confess the Conspiracy; but he could draw nothing from him, but protestations of innocency, and threatnings of his accusers.

The King speaks to him the second time, but in vain.

Upon this the King felt himself agitated even at the bottom of his soul with divers thoughts, not knowing what he ought to do. The affection he had born him and his great services, withheld his just anger: on the other side, the blackness of his crime, his pride and obstinacy gave reins to his justice, and obliged him to punish the criminal. Besides that the danger with which both his Estate and Person were threatned, seemed impossible to be prevented, but by cutting off the head of a conspiracy whose bottom was scarce visible.

He is troubled what to resolve on.

He insolently vindicates himself.

In this doubt of spirit he retired into his Closet, and falling on his knees, prayed to

God with all his heart to inſpire him with a good reſolution. He was accuſtomed to do thus in all his great affairs; eſteeming God "as his ſureſt Counſellour, and moſt faith-"ful aſſiſtance. At his coming from prayers, as he ſaid afterwards, he found himſelf delivered from the trouble wherein he was, and reſolved to caſt *Byron* into the hands of Juſtice, if his Council found that the proofs they had by writing were ſo ſtrong, that there need no doubt be made of his Condemnation. He choſe for this purpoſe four perſons of thoſe which compoſed it; to wit, *Bellievre, Villeroy, Roſny* and *Sillery*, and ſhewed them the proofs. They all told him with one voice, that they were more then ſufficient.

He reſolves to leave him to Juſtice.

Yet tries the third time to draw truth from him.

Yet after this he would make a third trial on this proud heart. He employed this laſt time Remonſtrances, Prayers, Conjurations, and aſſurances of pardon, to oblige him to acknowledge his crime; but he anſwered ſtill in the ſame manner; adding, that if he knew his accuſers, he would break their heads.

He finds it in vain, & leaves him.

In fine, the King wearied with his Rhodomontadoes and obſtinacy, left him, giving him theſe for his laſt words; *Well then, we muſt learn the truth in another place. Farewel Baron of Byron.* This word was as lightning, the Vant-Courier of the Thunder-bolt he was about to throw; the King by it degrading him of ſo many eminent dignities with which he had honoured him, ſhewed that he was about to abaſe him much more then ever he had raiſed him.

At his coming forth of the Queens Chamber, where he played at *Primero*, *Vitry* Captain of the Kings Life-Guard demanded his Sword, and Arreſted him as his priſoner. *Praſlin* likewiſe Captain of the Guards ſecured the Count of *Auvergne*; and on the morrow putting them in Boats on the *Seine*, conducted them with a good Convoy by water to the *Baſtille*.

Byron and the Count of *Auvergne* Arreſted priſoners.

Byron had a very great number of friends: but on this occaſion wherein he was accuſed to have conſpired againſt the perſon of the King, they were all mute and ſtruck dumb. His kindred which were found at the Court, went to caſt themſelves on their knees before the King, not to demand Juſtice of him, but to implore his mercy. The Lord *de la Force*, afterward Marſhal of *France*, ſpoke for them all. If *Byron* had at firſt ſpoke with ſo much humility and ſubmiſſion as they did, he had without doubt obtained his grace: but it was now too late; there was now no more room for Clemency, it had given place to Juſtice.

His kindred interceed for him.

The King commanded his Parliament to make his Proceſs, and ſent particular Commiſſion to the chief Preſident, and to the Preſident *Potier Blan-Meſnil*, and two Counſellours, to draw up the inſtructions at the requeſt of the Attorny-General.

The Parliament make his Proceſs.

The proofs were very ſtrong, and the defence of *Byron* very weak. He made it plainly appear in a buſineſs wherein he acted for his

He defends himſelf weakly.

Life, that he had leſs brains then heart. For he preſently acknowledged his writing; which he might have denied, and have gained ſome time to have made it be proved. This piece had been written in the time of the War of *Savoy*. He pretended that the King being at *Lyons*, had pardoned him all his rebellious Motions. But the King ſent Letters under his Great Seal to the Parliament, by which he revoked that grace. And no great conſideration was had upon it: for firſt, that grace he had granted him, was but verbal; and in the ſecond place, the Parliament held it for a Maxime, That there are Crimes the King cannot pardon; as thoſe of *Leſe Majeſtatis*, Divine and Humane; and thoſe which are of a horrible ſcandal, and great prejudice to the Publick. When they came to the re-examination and confronting of Witneſſes, and preſented *Laffin* to *Byron*, in ſtead of reproaching him as a man whom an hundred reproaches might have rendred incapable of bearing witneſs, he acknowledged him for an honeſt Man, and a brave Gentleman: but afterwards when he heard his Depoſition read, he began to charge him with injuries, to call him Traytor, Magician and Deviliſh Fellow. But the time was paſt, nor were his reproaches any more valuable.

He believed that *Renaze* was ſtill a Priſoner in *Piedmont*: but he had eſcaped ſome time before, and was now preſented to him. He believed that he ſaw a Fantaſm or Ghoſt; he remained aſtoniſhed and dumb; and without making

Letters of the King revoking the pardon granted him at *Lyons*.

He reproacheth not *Laffin*.

Renaze appears before him, at which he is much aſtoniſhed.

making any exception againſt him, heard his Depoſition, which agreed with that of *Laffin*. They depoſed, beſides what we have already ſaid, That he had complotted with the Governour of Fort St. *Katherine* to kill the King when he went to receive that place: That *Byron* was to march a little before him clad in a certain faſhion, to the end he might be known. They ſaid likewiſe, that he had another deſigne to take away the King when he ſhould be hunting, or other where ill accompanied, and carry him into *Spain*.

He is conducted to the Parliament, and heard.

The Charge of the Impeachment thus made in the *Baſtille* by four Commiſſioners, he was conducted to the Palace down the River, guarded on both ſides by the Regiment of Guards. He was heard in Parliament ſeated on the Foot-ſtool, all the Chambers of the Aſſemblies, but the Peers, being preſent, though they had been likewiſe called, and afterwards reconducted to the *Baſtille*.

Sentence of death voted againſt him.

On the morrow, being the laſt of *July*, it was put to the Vote: of one hundred and fifty Judges, there was not one who concluded not of his death. He was declared *Attainted and convicted of the crime of* Læſæ Majeſtatis, *for the Conſpiracies made by him againſt the perſon of the King, Deſignes upon his Eſtate, Treaſons and Treaties with his Enemies, being Marſhal of the Armies of the ſaid King. And for reparation of his Crimes, deprived of all his Eſtates, Honours and Dignities, and condemned to have his head cut off in the place of the* Greve, *his*

Goods,

Part III. Goods, moveable and immoveable, [illegible] and *confiscated to the King; his Lands of Byron for ever deprived of the title of Peerage, and those lands and all his other Lands re-united to the Demain of the Crown.*

The King removes the execution to the *Bastille*.

The King under pretext of doing a favour to his Kindred, but fearing indeed some tumult, because he was much loved of the Souldiery, and had a great number of friends in Court; removed the place of his execution, and would have it done in the *Bastille*. The Chancellour going with the chief President, caused him to be led to the Chappel, where about ten of the Clock in the morning he pronounced his Sentence; which he heard with one Knee on the ground, with a great deal of patience: onely when they read these words, *Conspiracies against the person of the King*, he rise up, and cryed out, *That is no such thing; that is false;* After that, the Chancellour, according to form, demanded of him the Collar of his Order, his Ducal Crown, and his Marshals Staff. He had not the two last with him, but onely the first, which he drew out of his pocket, and gave.

Sentence pronounced.

It will be needless to recount all his Discourses, his Reproaches, his Passions, his Injuries, his Exclamations, and a hundred other Extravagancies, (for so we may call them) with which he was transported.

His head cut off.

About five a Clock that Evening, he was led to the Scaffold, where he had his head cut off. It was observed that it bounded three times, forced by the impetuosity of his spirits, which were transported; and that there issued more blood out of it, then out of the trunk of his body. He was carried to the Church of St. Paul, where he was buried without any Ceremony, but with a great concourse of people who had all tears in their eyes, and lamented that brave courage which a detestable Ambition, and a too boundless Pride, had brought to so unhappy an end.

The King removes the execution to the *Bastille.*

It is convenient to understand, that this Marshal was very ignorant, but extreamly credulous in the Predictions of Astrologers, Diviners, Necromancers, and other Deceivers. It was held likewise, that *Laffin* had gained his favour by making him believe that he talked with the Devil, and that he had assured him that he should be a Soveraign. It was said likewise, that being young, he went one day disguised to see a Teller of Good-fortune, who foretold that he should be a very great Lord, but that he should have his head cut off: at which being troubled, he outragiously beat him. That another Diviner told him he should be King, if a blow of a Sword behind did not hinder it. And another, that he should die by the hand of a *Burgundian*; and it was found, that the Executioner who cut off his head, was a Native of *Bourgongne*. Divers others were reported: but to speak the truth, the most of these Predictions are ordi-

He was very ignorant, but a great lover of predictions.

His head cut off.

[illegible] To [illegible] by chance, and [illegible] the Prognoſticators telling ſo many [illegible] it is impoſſible but ſome ſhould happen. [illegible] ſore a great wiſdom [illegible] ſpirits of theſe ſorts of [illegible] that they have no foundation [illegible] “though we offend God by believing [illegible] “give ability to let our ſelves [illegible] “led by the Noſe; nor do [illegible] “give any faith to them, though ſometimes [illegible] “[illegible] force to diſcover the [illegible]

A reflection [illegible] ſoothſayers [illegible] great men.

[illegible] Laſſin and Renaze had their [illegible] [illegible] Hebert, Secretary to Ma[illegible] ron, ſuffered the ordinary and [illegible] Queſtion, without confeſſing any thing; yet he was condemned to perpetual impriſonment; but a little after, the King gave him his liberty, [illegible] the reſentment of what he had ſuffered, having more power [illegible] favour, he [illegible] Spain [illegible] days [illegible]

Laſſin and Renaze pardoned.

a That is the Rack.

He had a hand in the conſpiracy.

The Baron of Lux, Byron's chief Confident, came to Court on the King's word, [illegible] him all that he knew; and publickly [illegible] which means he obtained his pardon [illegible] [illegible] and was confirmed in his Charges, and in the Government of the Caſtle of Dijon, and the [illegible] the Government of Bourbon [illegible] Dauphiny, and gave the Lieutenancy to [illegible], who afterwards was [illegible] [illegible].

The King ſends for him to Court; but So the Baron of Lux [illegible] confirmed in his Charges.

U Mont-

[illegible] imprisoned, and soon released.

The Baron of [illegible], [illegible] had not the same fortune; for having a hand in the conspiracy, and besides [illegible] of his own accord with [illegible] to deliver to them a little Island [illegible] of [illegible], he was broke on the Wheel in the Greve, by sentence of the high Council. The King in consideration of his house, which was very illustrious, granted to his friends that in the sentence he should not be called by his proper Name: But History could not [illegible]

[illegible] broke on the wheel.

THE Duke of [illegible] finding himself likewise somewhat involved in this business, judged it convenient to retire into his [illegible] of [illegible], where the King, being told that there he was plotted something, sent for him to come and justifie himself: instead of coming, he writ to him a very eloquent Letter, by which he represented to him, that having understood that his Accusers were both extremely wicked, and very cunning, he intreated him to dispense with his coming to Court; and think fit, that to satisfie his Majesty, all France, and his own Honour, his Process should be made at the Chamber of Castres, by vertue of the priviledge he had granted to those of the pretended Religion; and that he would send thither his Accusers and Accusati-

Duke of [illegible] had a hand in the conspiracy.

The King sends for him to Court; but he pretends himself to the Chamber of Castres.

In purſuance of which, he came to *Caſtres*, preſented himſelf to the Chamber, and took an Act of his appearance. The King was not at all pleaſed with this Anſwer, blamed the Judges of *Caſtres* for having given him that Act, and ſent to tell him that there was yet no queſtion of leaving him over to Juſtice, and that therefore he ſhould the rather come.

After, he retires to *Geneva*, & thence to *Heidelberg* to the Prince *Palatine* his Kinſman.

Being advertized by thoſe friends he had at Court of the Kings reſolution, who had ſent to him the Preſident *Cammartin* to let him underſtand his will, he departed from *Caſtres*, went to *Orange*, paſſed by *Geneva*, and ſo retired to *Heidelberg* to the Prince *Palatine*: ſaying like a ſage Politician, as he was, *That he ought neither to Capitulate with his King, nor yet go near him whilſt his anger laſted.* This buſineſs lay a breeding ſome years, we ſhall ſee in its place how it terminated.

The favour of *Roſny* a pretext to the diſcontents of the great ones.

It muſt here be acknowledged, that the favour of *Roſny* ſerved in this time for a pretext, to almoſt all the diſcontents and all the complaints of the great ones. The King had truely raiſed him by four or five great Charges, becauſe he believed he could not ſufficiently recompence thoſe ſervices he had rendred him. And in that this Prince merits onely praiſe: for a good Maſter cannot do too much for a good and faithful ſervant. But though the troubleſome and diſcontented Spirits might complain that the King gave him too many Charges and Employments; yet they could not lament his giving him too much power, or that

Yet the King gave him not too much power;

he gave it to him alone: for we may with truth ſay, that *Roſny* had not the liberty to do the leaſt grace of his own accord. He was forced in all things to addreſs himſelf directly to the King, who would himſelf diſtribute his favours and recompences to thoſe he knew worthy, that they might acknowledge the whole Obligation and dependence from him. This great Prince knew well, "That he who gives "all, may do all; and that he who gives no"thing, is nothing, but what it ſhall pleaſe "him who gives all. He had too much Honour, and too much Glory, to ſuffer that another ſhould act in the moſt noble Function of his Royal Authority. Whatever favour or whatever familiarity any had with him, if they were wanting to conſerve it with a profound reſpect, or ſhould ſpeak or act with him otherwiſe then with their Maſter and with their King, they would doubtleſs as ſoon fall into diſgrace; and this was, as we have obſerved, one of the cauſes of *Byron*'s loſs. Judge then if he who would not that any ſhould in any thing in the world act the Companion with him, would have endured that they ſhould act the Soveraign. Judge, if he would have been contented that his Miniſters ſhould ſimply have taken his conſent in a buſineſs, or that they ſhould ſpeak to him of things in manner of debate, after having themſelves reſolved them. No, without doubt: He would that all Reſolutions ſhould come from his own Head, and from his own Motion: that the

but keeps it to himſelf.

An important truth.

choice ſhould be his; that he alone ſhould have the power to raiſe and throw down; and that none but himſelf ſhould be Arbitrator in the Fortunes of his Subjects. Not but that he conſidered, as it was juſt, the Recommendations of the great ones of his Eſtate, and of his Miniſters, in the conferring of his Favours, Employments and Charges; but it was ſtill in ſuch a manner, that he made them to whom he gave them know, that they ought only to hold them from him: which the following Example well demonſtrates.

A memorable example, that a King ought not to yeild too much to his Miniſters.

The Biſhoprick of *Poictiers* becoming vacant, *Roſny* very inſtantly beſought him to conſider in this occaſion one named *Fenouillet*, reputed a knowing man, and a great Preacher. The King notwithſtanding this Recommendation, gives it to the Abbot of *Rochepozay*, who, beſides his own particular good Qualities, was Son to a Father who had ſerved him well with his Sword in his Wars, and with his knowledge and ſpirit in Embaſſies. Some time after, the Biſhoprick of *Montpellier* became vacant: the King but of his own proper motion ſent to ſeek *Fenouillet*, and told him, that he would give it him; but on this condition, that he ſhould acknowledge no Obligation but to himſelf. By which it may be ſeen, how he in ſome ſort conſidered the Recommendation of *Roſny*. But it may likewiſe be perceived, that the power of that Favourite, who cauſed ſo much jealouſie in the world, was bounded. We call him Favourite, by reaſon that he had the moſt ſplendid Employments, though to ſpeak truth he had no preeminence over the others of the Council: for *Villeroy* and *Janin* were more conſidered than him in Negotiations and Forreign Affairs, *Bellievre* and *Sillery* for Juſtice and Policy within the Kingdom; and it is not to be imagined that theſe people did in any manner depend on him. There was onely one head in the Eſtate, which was the King, who alone made all his Members, and from whom onely they received ſpirits and vigour [illegible]

Enterprizes of the Duke of *Savoy* on *Geneva.*

About the end of this year, the Duke of *Savoy* thinking to revenge himſelf and repair the loſs of his County of *Breſſe* on the City of *Geneva*, attempted to take it by ſtorm. The Enterprize was formed by the Counſels of the Lord of *Albigny*; and the Duke having paſſed the Mountains, believed it infallible. *D'Albigny* conducted two thouſand men for this purpoſe within half a League of the City, [illegible] engage himſelf, [illegible] More then two hundred [illegible] gained the Ramparts, [illegible] ran through all the City without being perceived; in the mean time, the Burgeſſes were awaked by the cries of ſome [illegible] which had diſcovered the Enterprize; and as ſoon [illegible] charged by them. The Cannon [illegible] on all ſides.

The

The greateſt part endeavoured to re-gain their Ladders; but the Cannons on the Flankers having broken them in pieces, they were almoſt all ſlain, or broke their necks by leaping into the Ditch. There was thirteen taken alive, almoſt all Gentlemen; amongſt the others, *Attignac*, who had ſerved as ſecond to *Don Philipin* baſtard of *Savoy*. They yielded upon aſſurance given them, that they ſhould be treated as priſoners of War: But the furious cries of the common people, who repreſented the danger wherein their City was of Maſſacres, Violation, univerſal Deſtruction, or perpetual Slavery, forced the Council of this little Republick to condemn them to the infamous death of the Gibbet, like to Thieves.

Thirteen of the Enterprizers hanged.

Their heads, with fifty four others of thoſe that were killed, were ſtuck on Poles, and their bodies caſt into the *Rhone*.

The Duke of *Savoy* excuſes himſelf to the *Suiſſes*.

The Duke of *Savoy*, confuſed with ſuch ill ſucceſs, and much more with the reproaches of all *Chriſtendome*, for having endeavoured ſuch an Enterprize in time of abſolute peace, repaſſed the Mountains in haſte, leaving his Troops near to *Geneva*, and endeavoured to excuſe himſelf to the *Suiſſes*, under whoſe protection that City was, as well as under that of *France*, for having attempted to ſurprize it; ſaying, That he had not done it to trouble the repoſe of the Confederacy, but to hinder *Leſdiguieres* from ſeizing it for the King.

From whom the City of *Geneva* was held.

The Dukes of *Savoy* have for a long time pretended that this City appertained to their

Soveraignty; and that the Biſhops who bore the title of Earls, and were for ſome time Lords of it, held it from them: which is however a thing that the Biſhops never acknowledged; always maintaining, that they depended immediately on the Empire. The City on their part ſuſtained that it was a free City, and not ſubject in temporal things, neither to their Biſhops, whom they quite drove out in the year 1535. when they unhappily renounced the *Roman Catholick* Religion; nor to the Duke of *Savoy*, but onely to the Empire; for which reaſon they always bore the Eagle planted on their Gates. Both one and the other have very ſpecious Titles to ſhew their right: but for the preſent the City of *Geneva* enjoyed full liberty, and had for above ſixty years being become an Allie of the Cantons of Switzerland. Now the *Suiſſes* were comprehended in the Treaty of *Vervin* as Allies of *France*, and by conſequence ſo was the City of *Geneva*; and the King had ſufficiently declared it to the Duke of *Savoy*; notwithſtanding which, he ceaſed not to attempt this Enterprize, hoping that if it ſucceeded, the King of *Spain* and the Pope would ſuſtain him in it, and that the King for ſo ſmall a thing would not break the peace.

It was an Allie of the *Suiſſes*, and under protection of *France*.

The *Genevans* furiouſly incenſed againſt him, began to make War couragiouſly, entred his Country, and took ſome little Towns.

The *Genevans* make War on *Savoy*.

They hoped that the King and the *Suiſſes* would ſecond theſe motions of their reſentment, and that all the Princes of *Germany*

He would likewise come to their assistance. But the King desired to keep the peace, and not to kindle a War in which he could not make Religion and Policy agree; the Honour and Interests of *France* obliged to protect its Allies, which the good favour of the Pope moved by his duty to the ruine of the *Hugonots*. He therefore sent *de Vic* to assure them of his protection: but with order to let them know that Peace was necessary for them, and War ruinous; and that they ought to embrace the one, and shun the other. And they having little power for so much anger, and not being able to do any thing without his assistance, were constrained to consent, and to enter into a Treaty with the *Savoyards*, by which it was said, that they were comprized in the Treaty of *Vervin*, and that the Duke could not build any Fortress within four Leagues of their City.

But the King obliges them to peace.

It happened almost in the same time, that the City of *Mets* rose against the Governour of that Citadel. He was called *Sobole*; who having been made Lieutenant by the Duke of *Espernon*, to whom *Henry* the third had given the Government in chief, had deserted this Duke, I know not for what consideration, and had taken provision of the King. He had a Brother who seconded him in the Charge of this Government.

The inhabitants of *Mets* rise against *Sobole* their Governour.

During the last War against *Spain*, the two Brothers had accused the principal Inhabitants of *Mets* for having conspired to deliver the City and the Spaniards. There were many imprisoned, some put to the rack, and others found culpable; so that the Burgesses believing with reason that this was a calumny, conceived a hatred against these *Soboles*, and drew up several Requests of complaint against them, accusing them of a great number of Exactions and Cruelties. The Duke *d'Espernon*, who without doubt sustained these Burgesses in the Court, was sent by the King to accommodate this difference. The *Soboles* which had offended him, no longer trusted him; they would not permit him to enter into the strongest Citadel, nor let the Garison go out to meet him; so that being justly incensed, he inflamed the plague instead of healing it, and animated the inhabitants in such a manner, that they Barricadoed themselves against them. The King who knew that the least sparkles were capable to kindle a great fire, was not content to send [illegible], but went himself, being moreover willing to visit that Frontier. *Sobole* gave the place into his hands; and he gave it to *Arquien*, Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of Guards, with the Quality of Lieutenant of the King, to command in the absence of the Duke *d'Espernon* Governour, who had no great power so long as the King lived.

The Duke *d'Espernon* kindles the fire more.

The King goes in person.

The King passed the Feast of *Easter* at *Metz*. Whilst he was there, he hearkned to the request which the *Jesuites* made for their re-establishment. He referred the doing thereof to Justice

The *Jesuites* present their request to the King, for their re-establishment.

till he ſhould come to *Paris*, and gave leave to Father *Ignatius Armand*, and Father *Coton*, to come to ſollicite their cauſe. They were not wanting to do it; and Father *Coton*, being of a ſharp and witty diſcourſe, and a very famous Preacher, gained ſo ſoon the favour of all the Court, and pleaſed the King ſo well, that he obtained from his Majeſty the recalling of the Society into the Kingdom, contrary to the opinion and advice of ſome of his Council. He then re-eſtabliſhed them by an Act, which he cauſed to be confirmed in Parliament; and cauſed to be thrown down that *Pyramide*, which had been erected before the Palace, in the place of the houſe of *John Caſtel*, where there were many writings in Verſe and Proſe very bloody againſt theſe Fathers. Thus was their baniſhment gloriouſly repaired; and after all, the King kept with him Father *Coton* as his Chaplain in Ordinary, and Confeſſor and Director of his Conſcience. This was not accompliſhed till the year 1604.

He re-eſtabliſheth them gloriouſly.

1602, & 1603.

In theſe two years of 1602, and 1603, we have yet three or four important things to obſerve. The firſt, that the King at his departure from *Metz* went to *Nancy* to viſit his Siſter, the Dutcheſs of *Bar*, who died the year following without Children. The ſecond, that he renewed the Alliance with the *Swiſſes*, and ſome months after with the *Griſons*; notwithſtanding thoſe Obſtacles by which the Count of *Fuentes* endeavoured to

He viſits his ſiſter at *Nancy*.

Renews his alliance with the *Swiſſes* and *Griſons*.

oppoſe. The third was, that in returning to *Paris*, he received news of the Death of *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, one of the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Heroick Princeſſes that ever Reigned, and who Governed her Eſtate with more Prudence and Power, then any of her Predeceſſors had ever done.

Hears of the death of Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*.

She was Daughter to King *Henry* the eighth, and to that *Anne* of *Bullen*, for whoſe love he had left *Katherine* of *Arragon*, Aunt to *Charles* the fifth Emperour, his firſt wife. There was nothing wanting to the happineſs of her Kingdom ſave the *Catholick* Religion, which ſhe baniſhed out of *England*. And we might give her the name of good as well as great, if ſhe had not dealt ſo inhumanely as ſhe did with her Couſin-German *Mary Stuart* Queen of *Scotland*, whom ſhe kept eighteen years priſoner, and after beheaded; induced to it by ſome conſpiracies which the ſervants and Friends of that poor Princeſs had made againſt her perſon.

She beheaded *Mary* Queen of *Scots*.

The Son of that *Mary* named *James* the ſixth King of *Scotland*, being the neareſt of the blood Royal of *England*, as Grandchild to *Margaret* of *England*, Daughter to King *Henry* the ſeventh, and Siſter to *Henry* the eighth, married to *James* the fourth King of *Scotland*, ſucceeded *Elizabeth*, who had put his Mother to death. He cauſed himſelf to be called King of *Great Britain*, to unite under the ſame title the two Crowns of *England* and *Scotland*, which indeed are but one Iſland,

James 6. King of *Scotland* and Son of *Mary*, ſucceeded to the Kindom of *England*. *He was* James *the firſt of that name among the Kings of* England.

formerly called by the Romans *Magna Bri*

Ambassadors go from *France* and *Spain* to desire his friendship.

The Alliance of ſo powerful a King might make the ballance incline to which ſide ſoever it were turned, either to *France* or *Spain*. For which reaſon both the one and the other immediately ſent Magnificent Ambaſſadors to ſalute him, each endeavouring to draw him to his ſide. *Roſny* who was ſent on the part of *Henry* the Great, obtained all the favourable Audience he deſired, and the confirmation of the ancient Treaties between *France* and *England*. The Ambaſſador of *Spain* found not ſuch facility in his Negotiation; the *Engliſh* appeared reſolute. The *Spaniards* were forced to yeild, that the place of the Treaty ſhould be appointed in *England*, and to grant the *Engliſh* free Traffick in all their Territories, even in the *Indies*, and give them liberty of Conſcience in *Spain*, ſo that they ſhould not be ſubject to the Inquiſition, nor obliged to kneel to the holy Sacrament in the ſtreets, but only to [illegible]

Piety yields to *Intereſt*.

[illegible] *France* was in a profound peace, as well [illegible] by the renewing of the Alliance with the *Swiſſers* and with *England*, as [illegible] the diſcovery of the Conſpiracies which [illegible] quite diſſipated; the King enjoyed [illegible] worthy his labours [illegible] his pleaſures [illegible] However he [illegible] was ſeen daily employed [illegible] endeavoured with [illegible] diligence [illegible]

The King labours to conſerve peace.

serve peace, that divine daughter of heaven, as he had used courage and valour in making it.

He was often heard say, That though “he could make the house of *France* as pow“erful in *Europe* as that of the *Ottomans* was “in *Asia*, by conquering all the “Estates of his neighbours, yet he would “not do so great a dishonour to his word, “by which he was obliged to the keeping of “the Peace.

Excellent ſpeeches of a good King.

His most ordinary divertisements during this time, were Hunting and Building. He at the same time maintained workmen at the Church of the holy Cross at *Orleans*, at St. *Germain in Laye*, at the *Louvre*, and at the Place Royal.

His diver-tiſements.

The Nobility of *France* during this peace, for want of action, some passed their time in Hunting, others with Ladies, some in Studies of Building and the Mathematicks, others in travelling into Forraign Countries, and others continued the Exercise of War under Prince *Maurice* in *Holland*. But the greatest part, whose hands as it were itched, and who sought to signalize their valour without departing from their Countries, became punctilious, and for the least word, or for a wry look, put their hands to their swords. Thus that madness of Duels entred into the hearts of the Gentlemen; and these Combats were so frequent, that the Nobility shed as much blood in the Meadows with their

Employs of the Nobility [illegible]

Duels too frequent.

own

by their hands, as their enemies had made them loſe in Battails.

The King makes an Edict againſt this madneſs.

The King therefore made a ſecond and a moſt ſevere Edict, which prohibited Duels, confiſcating the bodies and goods of thoſe who went thus into the field. For the preſent, this prohibition made the ardor of the moſt violent a little relent: but becauſe he often pardoned this crime, not being able to refuſe it to thoſe who had faithfully ſerved him in his need; it happened that in a little time this miſchief regained its courſe, almoſt as ſtrong as before.

He makes Acts for working the Gold, Silver and Copper Mines.

His receiving from all perſons all advices that might accommodate and inrich his kingdom, made him underſtand that there were in divers places of *France* very good Mines both of Gold and Silver, Copper and Lead; and that if they were wrought, there would be no need to buy of ſtrangers: That likewiſe though there ſhould accrue no great profit in digging them, yet by them many idle perſons might be employed, and likewiſe thoſe criminals who deſerved not death, might be condemned for ſo many years to work in them. He made therefore an Act which renewed the ancient orders concerning the Officers, Directors, and Workers of Mines. And they began to work in the *Pyrenees*, where it is moſt certain that formerly there hath been Gold, and that there ſtill is. In ſuch manner, that had they continued this labour, they might in all appearance have gained notable advantages; but either through the negligence of the Overſeers, or through the little intelligence, or rather impatience of the *French*, who caſt by any thing that preſently ſeconds not their deſires, this work was diſcontinued.

An enterprize to joyn the *Seine* and *Loire*.

Another very great conveniency for *Paris* was enterprized, which was the joyning of the River *Loire* to the *Seine*, by the Chanel of *Briare*. *Roſny* laboured in this with much expence, employing in it near three hundred thouſand crowns; but the work was interrupted, I know not wherefore. It was renewed again in the Reign of *Lewis* the thirteenth, and brought to perfection.

Another deſign to joyn the two Seas.

There was propoſed likewiſe another, which was to make a conjunction of the two Seas, the Ocean and the *Mediterranean*, by uniting together the *Garonne*, which runs into the Ocean, and the *Aude* which fals into the *Mediterranean* Sea below *Narbonne*, by Channels which were to be drawn along little Rivers, which run between theſe great ones. The Country of *Languedoc* offered to contribute; but there were difficulties found which hindred this enterprize.

Navigation was eſtabliſhed by the good order which the King had taken to keep his Coaſts in ſecurity, and to puniſh Pirates ſeverely when they caught them. Our ſhips were not content to Traffick to the ordinary places, but enterprized likewiſe to go to the new world, which they had almoſt forgot

ſince

[illegible]
[illegible]
with the Kings C[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] like the Orders of [illegible]
Among all these [illegible]
[illegible] great quantity of [illegible]
Companies, which were [illegible]
[illegible] first seen the Recollects, [illegible]
branch of the Order of St. Fr[illegible]
Reformation; Capuchins and [illegible]
[illegible] who were brought from [illegible]
[illegible] Convent, who [illegible]
[illegible] Company of the Brethren [illegible]
vulgarly called the Ignorant [illegible]
[illegible] of *Italy*, and all had [illegible]
[illegible] of the Minds [illegible]
[illegible] persons [illegible]
[illegible] midst of this [illegible]
[illegible] King rejoyced, and [illegible]
[illegible] which were [illegible]
[illegible] trouble [illegible]
which perplexed the Spirit [illegible]
[illegible] great [illegible]
which [illegible] part of [illegible]
[illegible]

We have already said how [illegible]
d'Entragues had engaged [illegible]
given her the land of *Verneuil* [illegible]
[illegible] her [illegible]
[illegible] After that [illegible]
[illegible]

The King gives *Verneuil* to *Madamoiselle d' Entragues.*

not

[illegible] have [illegible] him in his Progreſs [illegible] upon him [illegible] and the [illegible] of the [illegible] ſhe [illegible] injurious [illegible] endeavouring to [illegible] ſhe ſhould hold [illegible] Banker [illegible] the Queen likewiſe on her ſide was [illegible] againſt her, and made her [illegible] to all the world. But [illegible] the ſpirits of the King [illegible] ſhe [illegible] diſ[illegible] by her [illegible] of the heart, which [illegible] The King [illegible] he loved ſweet and [illegible] diſcourſe, and was to be gained by tenderneſs [illegible] The bond of [illegible] in itſelf [illegible] ought to comply with [illegible] diſdains [illegible] which [illegible] huſband, and make him find [illegible] complacent. But inſtead of holding this [illegible] in converſation with the King [illegible] continually by her [illegible] reproaches, and [illegible] with [illegible] of his [illegible]

She defames and offends the Queen.

* alluding I ſuppoſe to the [illegible] Florence, who are all Merchants.

The Queen on her part trouble-ſome to the King.

Part III. 1604.

encountred nothing but Gall and Bitterness.

She had belonging to her Chamber a Florentine woman Daughter of her Nurse, named *Leonora Galligay*, a creature extreme ugly, but very spiritual, and who knew so perfectly how to insinuate into her heart, that she had in such manner seized on it, that she absolutely commanded her. It hath been said, that this woman fearing that the Queen her Mistreſs would love her leſs, if she perfectly loved the King her husband, kept her from it as much as ſhe could, that ſhe might poſſeſs her with more eaſe. Afterwards, to the end ſhe might have a ſecond in her deſigns, ſhe married and Eſpouſed her ſelf to a *Florentine* a domeſtick of the Queens; named *Conchini*, of a little better Extraction then her ſelf, being grand-child to *Baptiſta Conchini*, who had been Secretary to *Coſmo* Duke of *Florence*.

Leonora & **Conchini** her husband foster the Queen in ill humors.

The Common opinion was that theſe two perſons conjoyntly laboured ſo long as the King lived, to conſerve a ſpleen in the ſpirit of the Queen, and to make her always troubleſome and humourſome towards him, in ſuch manner, that for ſeven or eight years together, if he had one day of peace and quiet with her, he had ten of diſcontent and vexation. In this truly the Kings fault was the greateſt, becauſe he gave the occaſion of theſe troubles; and the husband being, as ſaith S. Paul, the head of the wife, ought to give her example, and keep a more ſtrict union with her.

We have obſerved this once for all. But we cannot too often make this Reflexion, "That ſin is the cauſe of all diſorder, and that "for a little pleaſure it cauſes a thouſand "troubles and a thouſand miſchiefs, even in "this world it ſelf. The King being now but juſt fifty years of age, began this year to feel ſome ſmall feelings of the Gout; which poſſibly were the doleful effects of his exceſſive voluptuouſneſs, as well as of his labours.

The Kings debaucheries cauſe the Gout.

To return to the Marchioneſs, it happened one day that the Queen being very much offended at her diſcourſe, threatned her that ſhe ſhould know how to bridle her wicked tongue. The Marchioneſs upon this ſeemed ſad and grieved; ſhunn'd the King, and let him underſtand that ſhe deſired that he would no more demand any thing of her, becauſe ſhe feared that the continuation of his favours would be too prejudicial both to her and her children. Her deſign was to inflame the more his paſſion, by ſhewing her ſelf more difficult. But when ſhe ſaw that her cunning had not all the effect ſhe hoped, and that the Queens anger was encreaſed to ſuch a point, that indeed there was ſome danger for her and hers; ſhe adviſed her ſelf of another thing. M. d'Entragues her Father demanded permiſſion of the King to carry her out of the Kingdom, to avoid the vengeance of the Queen. The King granted her demand eaſier than ſhe thought he would; wherewith being

The Queen threatens the Marchioneſs.

Who prays the King to ſee her no more.

And her Father demands leave to retire with her out of *France*.

ing exceſſively enraged, her Father and the Count *d'Auvergne* her Brother by the Mothers ſide, began to Treat ſecretly with the Ambaſſador of *Spain*, to have ſome retreat in the Territories of his King, caſting themſelves abſolutely, they and their children into his Arms.

They treat with the Ambaſſador of *Spain*.

The Ambaſſador believed that this buſineſs would be very advantagious to his Maſter, and that in time and place he might ſerve himſelf of that promiſe of marriage which the King had given to the Marchioneſs; he therefore eaſily granted them all that they demanded, and added all the fair promiſes with which weak and feeble ſpirits might be entoxicated.

The King had granted them permiſſion to retire themſelves out of *France*, but yet without the Children, out of a belief he had that they would go into *England* to the Duke of *Lenox* and the Earl of *Aubigny* of the houſe of the *Stuarts*, who were their near kinſmen; but when he underſtood that they conſulted of a retreat into *Spain*, he reſolved to hinder them, but to employ fair means to do it. He ſends therefore for the Count *d'Auvergne*, who was then at *Clermont*, ſo much beloved in the Province, that he believed he might ſecurely ſtay there. He refuſed to come before he had his Pardon Sealed in good form, for all that he might have done. This was a kind of new crime, to capitulate with his King: however he ſends it him, but with this Clauſe,

The King reſolves to hinder them.

To this end he ſends for *Auvergne*, who is at *Clermont*, and refuſes to come.

That he ſhould make his immediate appearance.

His inſtinct permitted him not to obey to this condition: He ſtayed ſtill in the Province, where he kept himſelf on his Guard, with all precautions imaginable. Nevertheleſs he was not ſo cunning, but the King could entrap him, and by an Artifice very groſs. He being Colonel of the *French* Cavalry, was deſired to go ſee a Muſter made of a Company of the Duke of *Vendoſmes*. He went well mounted, keeping himſelf at a good diſtance, that he might not be encompaſſed. Nevertheleſs, d'*Eurre* Lieutenant of that Company, & *Nereſtan* approaching him to ſalute him, mounted on little Hobbies for fear of giving him ſuſpicion, but with three Souldiers diſguiſed like Lacquies, caſt him from his horſe, and made him priſoner. They led him preſently to the *Baſtille*, where he was ſeized with a great fear, when he ſaw himſelf lodged in the ſame Chamber where the Marſhal of *Byron* his great friend had been.

He is Arreſted priſoner, and carried to the *Baſtille*.

Immediately after the King cauſed *d'Entragues* to be Arreſted, who was carried to the * Conciergerie, and the Marchioneſs, who was left in her lodgings under the Guard of the Cavalier *de Guet*. After deſiring to make known by publick proofs the ill intention of the *Spaniards*, who ſeduced his ſubjects, and excited and fomented conſpiracies in his State, he remitted the priſoners into the hands of the Parliament, who having convicted them

D'Entragues and the Marchioneſs likewiſe Arreſted.

* *The Common Goal* of Paris.

them

Sentence of Parlia-ment a-gainſt them.

them of having complotted with the *Spaniard*, declared by a ſentence of the firſt of *February*, the Count of *Auvergne*, *d'Entragues*, and an *Engliſh* man named *Morgan*, who had been the Agent of this fair Negotiation, guilty of Treaſon; and as ſuch condemned them to have their heads cut off: The Marchioneſs to be conducted with a good Guard into the Abby of Nuns at *Beaumont* near to *Tours*, to be there ſhut up; and that in the mean time there ſhould be more ample information made againſt her, at the requeſt of the Attorny-General.

The Queen ſpared no ſollicitations for the giving of this ſentence; believing that the Execution would ſatisfie her reſentment: but the goodneſs of the King ſurpaſſed her paſſion. The love which he had for the Marchioneſs was not ſo far extinct, that he could reſolve to Sacrifice what he had adored: he would not permit them to pronounce the Sentence; and two months and a half afterward, to wit, on the fifteenth of *April*, he by Letters under his Great Seal changed the penalty of Death on the Count of *Auvergne* and the Lord *d'Entragues*, into perpetual Impriſonment. Some time after he had likewiſe changed the priſon of *Entragues* into a Confinement to his houſe of *Malles-herbes* in *Beauſſe*. He likewiſe permitted the Marchioneſs to retire to *Verneuil*; and ſeven months being paſſed, without the Attorney-General's procuring any proof againſt her, he cauſed

The King pardons them, and juſtifies the Marchio-neſs.

her to be declared abſolutely innocent of the crime whereof ſhe was accuſed.

There reſted onely the Count of *Auvergne*, who being the moſt to be feared, was the worſt treated: for the King not onely kept him priſoner at the *Baſtille*, where he lay for twelve whole years, but likewiſe deprived him of his propriety in the County of *Auvergne*. He had bore the title, and enjoyed it by vertue of the Donation of King *Henry* the third.

But the Count of *Auvergne* remained at the *Baſtille*, and is deſpoiled of his County.

Queen *Margaret* newly come to the Court, ſuſtained that this Donation could not be valuable, becauſe the contract of the Marriage of *Katherine de Medicis* her Mother, to whom that County appertained, allowing Subſtitution of her goods, and that Subſtitution, ſaid ſhe, extending to Daughters in default of Males, that County was to come to her after the death of *Henry* the third, nor could he give it to her prejudice.

The Parliament having hearkned to her reaſons, and ſeen her proofs, annulled the Donation made by *Henry* the third, and adjudged her this County. In recompence of which obligation, and many others ſhe had received from the King, ſhe made a Donation of all her Eſtates after death to the *Dauphin*, reſerving to her ſelf onely the fruits of them during life.

Which is adjudged to Queen *Margaret*, who gives her Eſtates to the *Dauphin*.

The Count of *Auvergne* thus deſpoiled, remained in the *Baſtille* until the year one thouſand ſix hundred and fifteen; when

Queen Mary de Medicis having need of him during the troubles, delivered him from those things, and caused him to be justified. She caused likewise the Registers of Parliament, and of the Notaries to be taken off the Files, with all informations, which might conserve the memory of his Crime. "By this we see an example how time causeth mutability in all "things, and how it changeth the greatest hatreds into the greatest affections; and on the "contrary, transmutes the strongest affections "into mortal hatreds.

The designes of the Duke of Bouillon discovered.

By searching into the plot of this Marchioness her Father, to deliver her with her Children to the *Spaniards*, the designes of the Duke of *Bouillon* were likewise discovered, who at present was the onely person could give the King any trouble in his own Kingdom. It is most certain, that this Prince had conferred on him very considerable Favours, having given him the Staff of *Marshal* of *France*, and procured him the marriage of the Heiress of *Sedan*; and this Lord had likewise very well served him in his greatest necessities. But after he saw him converted to the Catholick Faith, he diminished much of his affection; and moved partly by Zeal for his false Religion, and partly by Ambition, he conceived vast designes of making himself Chief and Protector of the *Hugonots* party, and under that pretext, make himself Master of the Provinces beyond the *Loire*. It was believed that to this effect he had much assisted to exasperate

The King had done him many favours, and he had as well served the King.

the ſpirit of the Marſhal of *Byron*; and that he had made a Treaty with the *Spaniards*, who was to furniſh him with what money he then required, but not with forces, for fear of rendering himſelf odious to the Proteſtants.

But after the Kings converſion, he excites the *Hugonots* againſt him, and would make himſelf chief of their party.

It was but too viſible, that after the converſion of the King, he had infinitly laboured to beget diſtruſts and diffidencies in the ſpirits of the *Hugonots*, and to unite and Rally them together, that they might make a body: perſwading himſelf, that that body muſt neceſſarily have a head, and that they could chuſe no other but himſelf. And for theſe Reaſons, ſo many Aſſemblies were made, and ſo many particular and general Synods of thoſe of this Religion held, wherein nothing was heard but complaints and murmurs againſt the King, whom they continually wearied with new Requeſts and Demands.

His Emiſſaries endeavour to form a party in *Guyenne*.

Moreover, it was found that this Duke had Emiſſaries and Servants in *Guyenne*, and particularly in *Limoſin* and *Quercy*, who held private Councils among the Nobility, diſtributed money, and took oath of thoſe who promiſed him ſervice, and had formed deſignes againſt ten or twelve Catholick Cities.

The King goes to prevent them.

The King judging that he ought to dig up the root of this miſchief before it extended farther; and not knowing indeed to what it might extend, reſolved himſelf to go and remedy it: He departed from *Fontainbleau* in the month of *December*, having ſent before *John-Jaques de Meſmes*, Lord of *Roiſſy*, to make proceſs againſt thoſe that were culpable.

All the Conſpiracy diſſipated.

Immediately all this conſpiracy flew into ſmoak: The beſt adviſed came to the King to caſt themſelves at his feet. The chief Agent of the Duke of *Bouillon* being advertized that there was order given to arreſt him, brought his head to the King, and told him both all he knew before, and all that he did not know. The others either fled out of the Kingdom, or elſe hid themſelves. Five or ſix unfortunate perſons being taken, were beheaded at *Limoges*, and their heads planted on the tops of the Gates, their bodies burnt, and the aſhes thrown into the Air. Three or four others ſuffered the ſame puniſhment at *Perigord*. There were ten or twelve condemned for Contumacy, and their Effigies hanged up; amongſt others, *Chappelle-Byron*, and *Gizerſac* of the houſe of *Cugnac*. But in all theſe procedures, there were found no proofs by writing, nor yet by any formal depoſition, againſt the Duke of *Bouillon*; ſo cautiouſly and ſubtilly had he carried his buſineſs.

The King returns to *Paris*.

Before theſe executions, the King having made his entrance into *Limoges*, returned to *Paris*. He paſſionately wiſhed, that after this the Duke of *Bouillon* would acknowledge and humble himſelf. For if he remained impenitent, he was obliged to proſecute him to the utmoſt; and if he did proſecute him, he offended all that great body of Proteſtants, which were his faithful Allies. He employed

He in vain endeavours to make the Duke of *Bouillon* humble himſelf.

therefore underhand all means which he could deviſe, to induce him to have recourſe to his Clemency, rather then to the interceſſion of ſtrangers; which a Soveraign could not agree to in the caſe of his Officer and Subject. The Duke deſired as much as he to draw himſelf out of this trouble; but he believed he could not finde ſecurity at Court, becauſe *Roſny*, who was not his friend, and who had conceived ſome jealouſie to ſee him more authorized then himſelf in the *Hugonot* party, had ſo great credit with the King. So that after many Treaties and Negotiations, the King reſolved to go ſeek him at *Sedan* with an Army.

He reſolves to beſiege *Sedan*.

Roſny laboured with great Zeal to make preparation for this Expedition. The King confided much in him; and by honouring him, deſired to teſtifie to the *Hugonots*, that if he aſſaulted the Duke of *Bouillon*, it was not againſt their Religion, but the Rebellion he made War. For this purpoſe he erected the Land of *Sully* into a Dutchy and Peerage; wherefore we ſhall henceforward call him Duke of *Sully*. His thoughts were, that the King ſhould purſue the Duke of *Bouillon* to the utmoſt. *Villeroy* and the reſt of the Council were of a contrary judgement: they would not have the Siege of *Sedan* hazarded, becauſe the length of that Enterprize might poſſibly revive divers factions in the other corners of the Kingdom, give time to the *Spaniard* to aſſault the Frontiers of *Picardy*, to the diſcon-

Roſny makes all neceſſary preparations.

The King makes him Duke of *Sully*.

Inconveniences in the ſiege of *Sedan*.

tented *Savoyard* to caſt himſelf with the Forces of the *Milaneſe* on diſarmed *Provence*, and to the *Hugonots* and Proteſtants of *Germany* to come to the aſſiſtance of their friends.

The King chuſes rather to receive the Duke into favour.

On what conditions.

The King well foreſaw all theſe inconveniences; and therefore having advanced to *Doncherry*, during the abſence of *Sully*, who was gone to provide Artillery, he treated with the Duke of *Bouillon*, and received him into grace; on condition that he humbled himſelf before his Majeſty, and received him into the City of *Sedan*, and delivered up the Caſtle to him, to keep it with what Garriſon he ſhould think fit for four years.

Theſe were the publick Conditions: But by the ſecret Articles the King promiſed the Duke to ſtay but five days in *Sedan*, nor to put but fifty men in the Caſtle, which ſhould immediately depart upon humble ſupplication made by the Duke. All theſe things were faithfully executed, and without the leaſt diſtruſt either on the one ſide or the other.

The Duke demands pardon of of the King, who enters *Sedan*, and thence goes to *Paris*.

The Duke came to meet the King at *Doncherry*, where he beſought his pardon. The King received him as if he had never been faulty; and five or ſix days after, entred into *Sedan*; where he ſtayed onely three days, and then returned to *Paris*. The Duke accompanied him as far as *Monſon*, paſſing then no further: But ſome days after, when he underſtood that the Parliament had confirmed his pardon, in which were likewiſe comprehended his friends that had been condemned for the deſign of *Limoges*, he came to Court, where he received more Honours and Kindneſſes then ever. This was the cuſtome of that great King: "He had "a heart like a Lyon againſt the Proud, and a-"gainſt Rebels; but he was pleaſed to relieve "with an unparallell'd goodneſs thoſe he had "overcome, when by their ſubmiſſions they "rendred themſelves worthy to receive his "grace. And the Duke of *Bouillon*, who perfectly knew his Nature, (for they had lived and made War a long time together) was not wanting in this Conjuncture to comport himſelf with all that Prudence and Compliancy which an underſtanding man, as he was, could be capable of.

A great example of generoſity in our Prince.

Notwithſtanding this great generoſity and goodneſs of the King, his Kingdome was no leſs turmoiled with incredible infidelities and conſpiracies; ſuch were the treaſon of *l'Oſte*, the attempt on the City of *Marſeilles* by *Merargues*, and another on *Narbonne* and *Leucate* by the *Luquiſſes*.

Notwithſtanding which, there are many conſpiracies.

L'Oſte was Clerk to *Villeroy*, and his Godſon; the employment he had under him, was to copy out the diſpatches. This unfortunate man revealed all the ſecrets of the Kings Affairs to ſome of the Council of *Spain*; who had corrupted him with twelve hundred Crowns of Penſion, which they promiſed him whilſt he was in that Country with the Ambaſſadour *Rochepot*. His treachery being diſcovered, he fled; and as he was purſued by the Provoſts of the Marſhal, he drowned himſelf in the River

Treaſon of *l'Oſte*.

ver

river of *Marne*, near the Ferry of *Fay*. It may eaſily be judged, that *Villeroy*, whoſe fidelity by this means remained expoſed to the Kings juſt ſuſpicions, and to the calumnies of his enemies, was ſenſibly troubled. He had had without doubt ſome difficulty to clear himſelf of this buſineſs, if the King, who ſaw him in an extraordinary affliction, had not had the goodneſs to go viſit him himſelf, and by that honour brought him the comfort of juſtifying him againſt all calumnies that Envie might ſow againſt him.

1605.

Treaſon of *Merargues*.

Merargues was a Provincial Gentleman, of a very good Houſe, who having aſſurance that he ſhould the following year be *Viguier* or Sheriff of *Marſeilles*, had promiſed to deliver that City to the *Spaniard* during his Sheriffalty. He was ſo imprudent and ſo fooliſh as to diſcover his deſigne to a Slave of the Gallies of *Marſeilles*, who gave advice of it to the Court, to the end poſſibly that he might gain his liberty.

He is ſurprized talking with the Spaniſh Ambaſſadours Secretary.

Upon this advice, *Merargues*, who was then at *Paris*, was watched ſo diligently, that they found him conferring with the Secretary of the Ambaſſadour of *Spain*, and ſpeaking ſo loud, that almoſt all they ſaid was heard. They ſearched him, and found in the fold of his Garter a Note containing the model of his Enterprize.

His puniſhment.

He was arreſted, and had his head cut off by ſentence of the Parliament of *Paris*, on the nineteenth of *December*: his body was quartered, and his Quarters fixed be-

before the City-gates: his head, carried to Paris, Marſeilles, to be planted on a Pole on a Tower of one of the principal Gates. The Secretary of the ſaid Ambaſſadour was arreſted as well as he, and had been in great danger, if the King had been as furious as thoſe counſelled him, who deſired a rupture with *Spain*.

The Ambaſſadours Secretary arreſted.

This Rencounter gave ſubject to the Politicians to diſcourſe diverſly concerning the Rights of Ambaſſadours and their people: but *Henry* the Great decided himſelf the Queſtion in this manner: "The Ambaſſadours (ſaid "he) are ſacred by the right of Nations: "now they firſt break them, when they con-"trive any treaſon againſt the State, or againſt "the Prince to whom their Maſter ſent them: "and therefore by conſequence this right "ought not ſecure them from being ſought "out and puniſhed. Moreover, it is not to be "preſumed that they are either Ambaſſadours, "or that they repreſent the Soveraign who "ſends them, when they commit thoſe treache-"ries and infidelities which their Maſters would "not they ſhould do. However, there is "more generoſity in not uſing in this point "the [illegible] rigour, but [illegible] "vantage to chaſtiſe them without doing it. "And to this purpoſe, being well read in Hi-"ſtory, he alledged that example of the "Roman Senate, who having diſcovered that "the Ambaſſadors of the *Allobroges* were con-"cerned in the Conſpiracy of *Catiline*, con-"tented themſelves with commanding them

Several diſcourſes concerning Ambaſſadours priviledges.

"to

The King forbids any process against the Secretary.

The Ambassadour makes a great noise, and threatens his Kings resentment.

[illegible] Mariners [illegible] were about to give [illegible] in the mean time [illegible] ing to cloak this perfidy [illegible] came to complain to him [illegible] Nations were violated, and in them the [illegible] rity of Ambassadours [illegible] Majesty would [illegible] refuse [illegible] become a great Prince when [illegible] King in favouring him such [illegible] professed unto him, but his [illegible] ded with Mirogueta. The Amba[illegible] willing either to own the Ma[illegible] Affairs, turned the business [illegible] complained that the King [illegible] breach of the peace of *Vervins* [illegible] *Hollanders*, both with men and [illegible] King replyed, that for the men [illegible] by his Orders, and that [illegible] men in the service of the Arch[illegible] in the *Hollanders* [illegible] within his power to [illegible] and to lend it [illegible] divers [illegible] The Ambassadour went very [illegible] ken some high words both [illegible] others. In fine, [illegible] Secretary, [illegible] he had resolved to [illegible] spake [illegible]

Treason of the *Luquisses*.

As for the *Luquisses*, they were [illegible] thers Gentlemen by extraction, [illegible] H[illegible] ved [illegible]

agreement

[illegible] Company of [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] in their power [illegible]
[illegible] and that [illegible]
[illegible] that the things would
[illegible] unless they were valiant and
[illegible] ; where the Parliament
[illegible] and the rest on the Gib-
[illegible]
[illegible] that not onely the malice of men
[illegible] it self conspired now against
[illegible] the same day that *Margues* was
[illegible] unhappy Fool made an attempt
[illegible] person of the King; throwing
[illegible] him with a Dagger in his hand
[illegible] on horse-back over the *Pont-Neuf*,
[illegible] The Foot-men [illegible]
[illegible] made him loose his aim;
[illegible] him on the place, if the King
[illegible] who caused him to be car-
[illegible] *Evesque*. He was call-
[illegible] *Vennes* near *Senlis*
[illegible] examined by the President
[illegible] could get no reasonable answer
[illegible] for he was indeed quite out of his
[illegible] he believed himself King of all the
[illegible] and said that *Henry* the fourth having
[illegible] France from him, he would
[illegible] for his enemies. Upon which,
[illegible] judging that he was sufficiently pu-
nished by his folly; commanded that he should
onely be kept in prison; where he died not
long after.

A fool makes an attempt on the Kings person.

Y Those

Those who deſire war, whet the Kings ſpirit upon theſe Conſpiracies.

Those who deſired War, loſt not the occaſion to incenſe the Kings ſpirit upon all theſe Conſpiracies and Enterprizes of the *Spaniards*. They remonſtrated to him, That he ought not to expect other from his perpetual Enemies; That having uſed all their endeavours to hinder him from coming to his Crown, they continued dayly to attempt ſomething againſt his Repoſe and Life; That their Ambuſhes were more to be feared in Peace, then in War: That it were better to break with them, becauſe they would have leſs means to hurt him, being no longer in the Entrails of his Eſtate; That he had more advantage to act againſt them by open force, then to counterplot all their treacherous devices, which they held under the cloak of Peace and Friendſhip. They moreover preſented to him the ill eſtate of the Affairs of *Spain*; that having expended all their Treaſure in the Low-Country-Wars, they were fain to have recourſe to extraordinary ways to recover it. But above all, they forgot not to lay before him the great and advantagious Qualities that he had above *Philip* the third his Adverſary; that he might be the eaſier induced to aſſault a man whom they taught him to deſpiſe and eſteem feeble.

Character of *Philip* 3. of *Spain*.

I may ſay to this purpoſe of this King, that though he had his ſpirit very clean, and that the diligences of *Philip* the ſecond his Father had given him all knowledge neceſſary to govern; nevertheleſs out of a certain timidity and diſtruſt of himſelf, too ordinary in many great men, ſhunning labour and pains, he had abſolutely diſcharged himſelf of the Government on the Marquis of *Denia*, whom he made ſoon after Duke of *Lerma*. It will be difficult to expreſs how this man rendred himſelf odious, and how the other was little eſteemed ſo long as he endured: but in fine, God of his grace opened the eyes of this young Prince; he broke his chains; and he who was become as it were his Maſter, believed himſelf no better able to divert all thoſe diſgraces which might happen, then by becoming a Church-man and a Cardinal.

A good & profitable reflection.

We may in paſſing make ſome reflection of the pitiful eſtate to which a Soveraign reduces himſelf, who for not comporting himſelf as he ought, neceſſarily falls into the diſdain and averſion of his Subjects. "Without doubt "the greateſt miſfortune can arrive him, is to "be regarded as inferiour and ſubject to ano-"ther, to have his Ears continually filled "with that voice of his people, crying on all "ſides, *Tyranny*; and to permit himſelf to "be guided rather by five or ſix wicked Flat-"terers, who make him believe that he is Ma-"ſter, though he exerciſes no one Function, "then by the truth or judgement of his whole "Kingdome. For if he deſire to know whe-"ther he be truely Soveraign or no, he need "onely regard himſelf without flattery, if it "be he that gives Charges of his proper mo-"tion; if it be he that chuſes the perſons; if "the Officers about him are of his own ma-

“king; if he have ever ſaid, *I will have it ſo,*
“in any affair of importance; if he ſee him-
“ſelf always followed and accompanied by
“Grandees; if thoſe who have buſineſs, who
“ſeek employments, and who have need of his
“favour, are in his Anti-chamber: In fine,
“that none in his Realm hath more reſpect and
“more aſſiduity: and then he ſhall clearly know
“who it is that reigns. But it is not enough
“for him to know who it is; he muſt, after
“the example of *Philip* the third, of whom we
“were now ſpeaking, endeavour to put him-
“ſelf in poſſeſſion of his Authority. It is in
“that the Courage of a Prince principally con-
“ſiſts; for in what can he better make known
“his Reſolution and Valour, then in taking
“upon him that degree and power which
“God hath given him? Is there a truer point
“of honour for a King, then in maintaining in
“his perſon the rights of his Royalty? With-
“out diſſembling, it is more weakneſs and
“ſhame for a Soveraign to ſubmit himſelf to
“him who ought to be ſubmitted to his will,
“then to flee in the day of battel before his
“enemies: for the braveſt are ſometimes put
“to the worſt; and the courage of a King con-
“ſiſts much leſs in fighting with his hands
“then governing with his head. What would
“it be for him to overcome his enemies, if he
“ſees himſelf beneath his own ſubject, who
“under pretext to ſerve him, reduces him
“and his Eſtate into fetters; and who dares
“inveſt himſelf with all the glory and all the

In what the courage of a Soveraign principally conſiſts.

“advantage of command, making him believe “that it is to eaſe him of the burthen?

Our *Henry* was not of this temper: his goodneſs was extream, but it was neither weak nor timid: his knowledge and underſtanding were not uſeleſs, but always laborious and active; nothing was above him, but God himſelf; nothing on any ſide of him, but Juſtice and Clemency, his two faithful Counſellours. The moſt hardy of his Miniſters trembled when he but bent his brow; all familiarities immediately ceaſed, and none durſt be other then ſilent, when he was pleaſed to take the tone of Maſter.

The goodneſs of *Henry* the Great.

Now this great King conſerving ſtill the ſplendour of his Majeſty, we cannot wonder if he were eſteemed above *Philip* the third; who for the preſent ſuffered himſelf to be abſolutely governed. And therefore becauſe they knew he underſtood his fault, they believed that he would be more eaſily perſwaded to make War againſt him. Indeed he was ſufficiently reſolute; and after ſo many injuries as he had received from the *Spaniard*, his reſentment had no great need of a ſpur. However, before he would engage himſelf in ſo great an Enterprize, he would manage all his Affairs ſo exactly, gather together ſo much Money, Artillery and Ammunitions, fortifie ſo well his Frontiers, take ſuch good order within his Kingdom, aſſure himſelf of ſo many Friends and Allies, raiſe ſuch powerful Armies; and in fine, make his Party ſo ſtrong, that the ſuc-

In what the courage of a Soveraign principally conſiſts.

But the King haſtens not the War.

ceſs ſhould not at all be doubted, and that aſſaulting that ambitious power, he might be allured to overthrow it: and therefore he judged it not to the purpoſe too much to inſiſt on it.

He makes himſelf Arbitrator of the differences of *Chriſtendom*

In the mean time, he neglected not other means to acquire reputation: not thinking it leſs glorious to blazon forth his name by the repute of his wiſdom in Counſels, then by the power of his Arms. By the laſt, he had been victorious over the Rebels and the *Spaniards*; by the other, he rendred himſelf Arbitrator of the great differences of *Chriſtendome*, and acquired a ſuperiority ſo much more noble, becauſe given him without conſtraint.

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After the death of *Clement* 8. he cauſes to be choſen *Leo xi.* who ſoon dies, and *Paul* 5. ſucceeds.

Pope *Clement viii.* being dead about the end of the year 1605. he would employ his credit to make a Pope of his Friends. The Cardinal of *Joyeuſe* his Ambaſſadour, and his other Agents, laboured ſo well, that they made the Votes fall on *Alexander de Medicis*, who was named the Cardinal of *Florence*. He took the name of *Leo xi.* but he died at the end of fifteen days: ſo the buſineſs was to begin again. The King would not that they ſhould take pains in the choice of another; and declared, That *France* took no other intereſt then that an honeſt man ſhould be choſen. The *Conclave* in the end choſe the Cardinal *Borgheſe*, who was named *Paul* 5.

A great difference between *Paul* 5. and the *Venetians*.

In the firſt years of his *Papacy*, there was re-kindled a great difference which was begun under his Predeceſſours, which had ſet on fire in the corners of Italy, and possibly all Christendom, if Henry had not taken care to extinguish it. I am about to tell the subject [illegible]

The *Signory* of *Venice* had formerly made an Ordinance or Decree, which prohibited the Monks from purchasing Lands in their Dominions above the value of twenty thousand Duckats; and enjoyning every one that had purchased above that value, to remit it to the *Signory*, who would re-imburse them the price and the improvements they had made on it. And following the foot-steps of this ancient Decree, they made another, which forbad the founding or building of new Churches, Convents and Monasteries, without express permission of the *Signory*, upon pain of banishment, and confiscation of such Foundations and Buildings. It was, indeed, part of the function and charge of Bishops to hinder this multiplication of Convents; but either through negligence, or too much facility, they gave to all as much permission as they demanded: insomuch that the Commonwealth seeing the default of the Prelates, found themselves constrained to take notice of it: otherwise it would soon have happened that all their Cities would have been nothing else but Convents and Churches; and all their Revenues, which ought to bear the charge of their Estate, and serve for the nourishment of married people, who furnish it with Souldiers, Merchants and Labourers,

The *Venetians* had made a law to bound the Acquisitions of the Clergy.

Part III. would have been expended only in the maintenance of Nuns and Fryers.

They make other Decrees.

The Senate therefore made another Decree, which prohibited Eccleſiaſticks from purchaſing any immoveable Goods, except by the permiſſion of the Senate. And at the ſame time it happened that an Abbot and a Canon, accuſed of very horrid Crimes committed in the Territories of the *Signory*, were impriſoned by the Authority of the Secular Juſtice; which paſſed for a ſtrange attempt on the other ſide the Mountains, where the Eccleſiaſticks are not at all ſubject to Secular Juſtice.

Paul 5. offended at theſe Decrees.

He ſends Briefs to revoke them.

Now *Paul* the fifth coming to the Pontificial Chair, not able to paſs by, ſaid he, all theſe attempts of the Secular Eſtate on the Eccleſiaſticks, diſpatched at the ſame time two Briefs to his *Nuntio* of *Venice*; One containing the revocation of the Decrees made by the *Signory* touching the purchaſing of temporal Eſtates; and the other commanding the ſending back the Abbot and the Canon to the Court of the Church. The *Nuntio* ſignified theſe Briefs to the *Signory*; who anſwered boldly, That their Authority was born with them; That no perſon but they had to do with it; and, That they ſhould know how to maintain it againſt any would enterprize to oppoſe it. Both the one and the other employed the beſt Pens of the time to defend their Rights, and confute the Defences of their Adverſaries. There were ſpread abroad every where great quantities of

Manifeſto's and Treaties, full of reaſons of Natural Right, paſſages of holy Scripture, Authorities of Fathers and Councils, and Examples from Hiſtory.

In the mean time the Pope extremely offended at this anſwer, thunders out an Excommunication againſt the Duke and the Senate, if within four and twenty days they revoked not their Decrees, and conſigned the priſoners into the hands of the Nuntio. The *Signory* was not at all moved at it, but boldly declared the ſentence of Excommunication Null and abuſive; nor was there any Eccleſiaſtick in their whole Territories who would attempt the publiſhing it, or durſt obſerve the Interdict, or make Divine Service ceaſe. There were only the *Capuchins* and the *Jeſuites*, who reſolved to depart, and demand leave of the *Signory*. They granted it to the *Capuchins*, with liberty to return when they pleaſed; and to the *Jeſuites*, with prohibition of ever re-entring their Dominions.

He Excommunicates the Senate.

They declare his ſentence of Excommunication null and abuſive.

Things being thus embroyled to the utmoſt between theſe two powers, the *Spaniards* look'd out with a ſharp eye, to make their profit of theſe diviſions; and underhand caſt oyl into the fire, though openly they made ſhew of extinguiſhing it. For on the one ſide they encouraged the *Venetians*, and heartned them up to maintain their rights; and on the other, they commanded their Governours of *Naples* and *Milan* to ſerve the holy Father with

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Part III. with all their powers. *Henry* the Great more ſincere, and more diſintereſted, embraced this occaſion, to eſtabliſh his power in *Italy*, in a more fair and juſt manner. He aſſured the Pope, that as the true Eldeſt Son of the Church, he would always ſuſtain its Intereſts; and that in caſe of rupture, he would go himſelf in perſon with an Army of forty thouſand men: but he intreated him that before it came to that, he would grant that he ſhould try all means poſſible for an accommodation.

Henry the great undertakes to accommodate the difference.

He anſwered likewiſe to the Ambaſſador of *Venice*, who demanded his aſſiſtance, that he ought it to the holy Father in prejudice of all others: And therefore he exhorted the *Signory* to give him content; which that they might do without wounding their honour or rights, he deſired to be Mediator.

Both parties having accepted his Mediation, he diſpatched the Cardinal *Joyeuſe* into *Italy*, who, to ſpeak all in two words, managed this Negotiation with ſo much Prudence, that in the end he concluded an accord. The Treaty contained four Principal Articles; 1. That the *Signory* ſhould conſign the two priſoners into the hands of the Ambaſſador of *France*, to remit them to his Holineſs. 2. That they ſhould revoke the Manifeſto and Declaration they had made againſt the Apoſtolick Cenſures. 3. That they ſhould re-eſtabliſh all Eccleſiaſticks in their goods. 4. That the Pope ſhould give them abſolu-

He ſends to this purpoſe Cardinal *Joyeuſe*, who concludes an accommodation.

tion had been a requital, they ſhould ſend to thank him by a Noble Embaſſy, and aſſure him of their filial obedience.

The Pope abſolves the Signory.

On the morrow the Cardinal *de Joyeuſe* coming to the place aſſigned by the Senate, the doors being ſhut, in the preſence of the Duke and five and twenty Senators, and the Ambaſſador of *France*, revoked the Excommunication, and gave Abſolution to the *Signory*. All theſe things paſſed without the *Spaniards* having the leaſt participation, though they endeavoured to make themſelves of the Feaſt. Thus had both parties ſome ſort of contentment, by the intermiſſion of *Henry* the Great.

There was nothing but the re-eſtabliſhment of the *Jeſuites*.

There was only the buſineſs of the *Jeſuites*, which for ſome months retarded the Treaty, and which ſome thought would have quite broke it; becauſe the Pope conſidering that they were driven away for his ſake, abſolutely reſolved that the *Signory* ſhould re-eſtabliſh them in their houſes and in their goods; and they were as obſtinate, rather to hazard all then to conſent to it. In fine, the Pope perſwaded by the Eloquence of Cardinal *Perron*, who was then at *Rome*, thought it better to releaſe this point, then hazard the putting *Chriſtendom* in a flame; ſo that they remained baniſhed out of the lands of the *Signory*. The preſent Pope, *Alexander* the ſeventh, hath by his interceſſion re-eſtabliſhed them.

If the accommodation of the differences between the Pope and the *Venetians* added much to the renown and reputation of our *Henry*; reviving the credit of *France* beyond the mountains, where it ſeemed dead, and depreſſing as much that of the *Spaniards*, which before ſeemed Paramount; the Treaty which he managed between the King of *Spain* and the Eſtates of the United Provinces, purchaſed him no leſs fame among the Proteſtants and the people of the North. I will recount the Hiſtory in few words.

The King endeavours an accommodation between the *Hollander* and *Spaniard*.

The United Provinces, vulgarly called *Holland*, from the name of the moſt conſiderable of the Seven Provinces which compoſe this body, had ſome reaſon to complain, that the King had made the Treaty at *Vervins* without their conſent, and that he had obliged himſelf not to aſſiſt them, neither directly nor indirectly. However he had not ceaſed to ſupply them daily with money, and to cauſe to go to their Service a great quantity of Nobility and Voluntiers, in ſuch manner that there were many entire *French* Regiments. So that it was not without apparent reaſon that the *Spaniards* cried out, that he viſibly infringed the Treaty at *Vervins*; but theſe reproaches were not juſt; for they had broke it firſt by an hundred attempts, of which we have before mentioned ſome.

He underhand aſſiſts the *Hollander* with men and money.

In the mean time, the King who was a good husband of his money, was weary of furniſhing the *Hollander* with ſo much, and

Janin ſent for this accommodation.

did

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did greatly wiſh them in an Eſtate that they might not put him to ſo much charge. There was only one way to effect it, which was procuring them peace from the *Spaniard*. He reſolved then to labour in it, and choſe the Preſident *Jeannin*, a man of great knowledge, to manage this Negotiation.

The two parties preſently conſented to a Treaty of eight months, during which the States, to the end they might Treat with more reputation and ſecurity, prayed the King to grant them an offenſive and defenſive League. He willingly granted it them: of which theſe were the Principal Articles.

They come preſently to an eight months truce.

The King makes an offenſive and defenſive League with the *Hollander*.

He promiſed them faithfully to aſſiſt and aid them in all he could, to obtain from the King of *Spain* a good and aſſured peace. That if it pleaſed God they did obtain it, he would cauſe it to be obſerved with all his power, and would defend them againſt all who would infringe it; and to this effect he would maintain in their Service ten thouſand Footmen at his own charges, ſo long as they ſhould have need of them. Reciprocally the States obliged, that if he were attacqued in his Kingdoms by whoſoever it were, they would immediately aſſiſt him with five thouſand Footmen at their own Expence; and they would leave it to the Kings choice, to take this aſſiſtance in Souldiers, or in Ships fitted and furniſhed at all points to fight at Sea.

He under-hand aſſiſts the *Hollander* with men and money.

The *Spaniards* were extremely Alarm'd

The *Spaniards* Alarm'd at this League.

against this League. *Don Pedro de Toledo*, one of the greateſt Lords in *Spain*, paſſing through *France* to go to the Low Countries, made great complaints to the King: Nevertheleſs, many imagined that all the noyſe he made, tended onely to oblige him the rather to proſecute the peace for the *Hollanders*; for *Spain* was even to extremity wearied with a war ſo long, ſo irkſome and ſo bloody, with ſo great Expences; and ſo little ſucceſs.

Don Pedro de Toledo makes great complaints to the King.

This *Don Pedro* according to the humour of the *Spaniſh* Nobility, was of an auſtere and grave countenance, high and magnificent in his words, when he ſpoke of the honour and glory of his Nation, and the power of his King; but out of that, courteous and civil, ſubmiſſive and reſpectful where he ſhould be ſo, gallant, witty and ſpiritual. There paſſed between the King and him, things very remarkable, which we muſt not forget.

Things very curious which paſſed betwixt the King and *Don Pedro*.

The King believing that he brought him threats of War, and knowing that the *Spaniards* had ſpread abroad a report that he was quite lame with the Gout, and unable to mount on horſeback; he would make him know that his ſtrength and activity was not at all diminiſhed. He received him in the great Gallery at *Fontain-bleau*, and made him take twenty or thirty turns at ſo great a pace, that he put him out of breath; and after told him, *You ſee how, Sir, how well I am.*

At this firſt Audience *Don Pedro* brought his Beads in his hand. He repreſented to the King the general intereſt that all Catholick Princes had in the ruine or converſion of Hereticks, and the great Wars which his Maſter had made for this purpoſe. Afterward changing his diſcourſe, he told him, that the Catholick King earneſtly deſired to Allie himſelf more ſtrictly with him, and to make marriages between their children, Provided that the King would renounce the Alliance and Protection of the Low-Countries. The King freely anſwered, that his children were of ſo good a houſe as might well be accepted; that he deſired no conſtrained friendſhips nor conditions; that he would not abandon his friends, but that thoſe who would not be ſo, might repent them of being his enemies.

Their entertainments.

Don Pedro upon this exalted the greatneſs and power of *Spain*. The King without being moved let him know that it was the Statue of *Nebuchadnezzar*, compoſed of ſeveral ſorts of matters, and which had its feet of Clay. *Don Pedro* came to remonſtrances and threats. The King ſoon gave him his change, and told him, That if the King of *Spain* continued his attempts, he would carry flames even into the *Eſcurial*; and that if he once mounted on horſeback he would ſoon be at *Madrid*. The *Spaniard* arrogantly anſwered him, *King Francis was there indeed. It was therefore*, replyed the King, *that I would go to revenge his injuries, thoſe of France, and my own.*

Lively and quick replies.

After ſome words a little higher, the King with a more ſtill voice, told him: *My Lord Ambaſſador, you are a Spaniard, and I a Gaſcon, let not us grow paſſionate.* They returned then to terms of ſweetneſs and civility.

Another time the King ſhewing him his Buildings at *Fontainbleau*, and demanding of him what he thought of them? he replyed, that in his opinion he had lodged God very narrowly. There was then but two Chappels, which were in the Court, made in oval, and which were truly very little. The King could not endure to have his piety accuſed; and therefore anſwered him very ſharply: *You* Spaniards *know not how to give God other than Material Temples; but* Frenchmen *lodge God not onely in ſtones, we lodge him in our hearts; but though he ſhould be lodged in yours, I fear he would be in ſtone ſtill.*

From *Fontainbleau* they came to *Paris*, where the King one day ſhewing him his Gallery of the *Louvre*, and demanding his opinion of it; *The Eſcurial is much another thing*, ſaid *Don Pedro*. *I believe it*, replyed the King; *but hath it a* Paris *about it like my Gallery?*

Don Pedro kiſſes the Kings Sword.

One day *Don Pedro* ſeeing at the *Louvre* the Kings Sword in the hands of one of his followers, advanced to it, and putting one knee on the ground, kiſſed it; *rendring this honour*, ſaid he, *to the moſt glorious Sword in Chriſtendom.*

During the truce of eight months, of which we have ſpoken, the Preſident *Janin* inceſſantly laboured for a Treaty. There were two great difficulties; one, that the King of Spain would not treat with the United Provinces, but as with Subjects; and they would have him acknowledge them to be free and independent: the other, that the Prince of *Orange*, whoſe power and authority would be extreamly weakned by the Peace, oppoſed it by a thouſand Artifices, being ſuſtained in it by the Province of *Zealand*, who ever deſired War, and by ſome Cities of its faction.

Two obſtacles in the Treaty of the *Hollanders* ſurmounted by the King.

These two obſtacles were in the end ſurmounted. The *Spaniard* yeilded to the firſt, and acknowledged that he owned the States for Free States, Provinces, and Countries; and about the ſecond, the King ſpoke ſo high to the Prince of *Orange*, that he durſt not ſtop the courſe of the Treaty. It ended no longer however in a Peace, but onely in a Truce of twelve years, which was free and aſſured Commerce on one part and on the other.

The Treaty ends in a twelve years Truce.

The renown of this accommodation carried the Kings glory throughout all *Europe*. The Duke of *Venice* told our Ambaſſador in the Senate, *That that* Signory *entred into new admiration of the prudent conduct of our King, who never deceived himſelf in his undertakings, and never gave blow in vain; that he was the true upholder of the repoſe and felicity of Chriſtendome; and that it had nothing of happineſs to deſire, but that he might reign for ever.* An Elogie ſo much the more worthy and glorious, becauſe we may ſay with truth, that *Venice* hath

Great praiſe given by the republick of *Venice* to our *Henry*.

ſtill been the Seat of Politick wiſdome, and that the prayſes which came from that Senate, are as ſo many Oracles.

All deſire his friendſhip and protection.

The Friendſhip and Protection of this great King was ſought on all ſides; all was referred to his Arbitration, and all implored his aſſiſtance. And as he was equally powerful as wiſe, feared as loved; there was none who durſt contradict his judgement, or aſſault thoſe whom he protected. But he was ſo juſt, that he would not enterprize any thing upon the Rights of another, nor maintain the Rebellions of Subjects againſt their Soveraign: A certain proof of which he gave to the *Mauriſques.*

He will not protect Subjects againſt their Soveraign.

It is known how heretofore the *Moores* or *Sarazins* invaded all *Spain*, towards the year 725. The *Chriſtians* with the aid of the *French*, had regained it from them by little and little; ſo that there remained no more then the Kingdom of *Granada*, which was little in Extent, but very rich, and extremely populous, becauſe all the remnants of that Infidel Nation were retired into that little ſpace. *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, and *Iſabella* Queen of *Caſtile*, finiſhed the Conqueſt of that Kingdom, in the year 1492. and ſo put an end to the Government of the *Moores*, and to the *Mahumetan* Religion in *Spain*; conſtraining the Infidels to take Baptiſm, or to retire into *Affrica*.

What the *Mauriſques* were.

Now as thoſe who had thus profeſſed the *Chriſtian* Religion had done it perforce, they for the moſt part remained *Mahumetans* in their hearts, or *Jews* (for there were many *Jews* amongſt them) and ſecretly brought up their children in their incredulity. To which likewiſe the *Spaniſh* Bigotry did much contribute, putting great diſtinction between the new Chriſtians and the old. For they received not the new ones either to Charges or Sacred Orders; they allied not themſelves with them, and, which is worſe, made a thouſand * *avanies* upon them, and oppreſſed them with exceſſive Impoſts. So that theſe unfortunate people ſeeing themſelves thus trampled on, and being too weak of themſelves to looſen themſelves from their York, they reſolved to addreſs themſelves to ſome ſtrange power, but which ſhould be Chriſtian; becauſe that of the King of *Morocco*, or the other Princes of *Affrica*, would have appeared too odious. To this effect they had ſecret recourſe by Deputies to our *Henry*, when he was then but King of *Navarre*. Afterwards in the year 1595. when they ſaw that he had overcome the League, and had got the upper hand in his affairs, they again implored his Protection. He hearkned favourably to their propoſitions; ſent diſguiſed Agents into *Spain*, to ſee the Eſtate of their affairs; and made them hope that he would aſſiſt them. And truly he might have done it, ſince then he was in War with the King of *Spain*; and it is lawful to make uſe of all ſorts of Arms, to defend our ſelves againſt

The *Spaniards* treat them ill.

They demand aſſiſtance of *Henry* the Great.

* *An avanie is when by a falſe accuſation money is forced from any perſon.*

Part III. our enemies. But now being returned this year 1608. to ſollicite him inſtantly to accept their propoſitions and offers, and to hear the anſwer from his own mouth; he plainly let them know, that the quality of *thrice-Chriſtian* King which he bore, permitted him not to undertake their defence, ſo long as the peace of *Vervin* laſted; but that if the *Spaniard* ſhould firſt openly infringe it, he ſhould have juſt cauſe to receive them into his Protection.

He refuſes it.

Their Deputies having loſt all hopes on this ſide, addreſſed themſelves to the King of *England*, whom they found yet leſs diſpoſed then he, to lend them aſſiſtance. In the mean time their plots having taken wind in the Court of *Spain*, cauſed both fear and aſtoniſhment: for they were near a million of ſouls, and were poſſeſſed of almoſt all the Traffick, particularly that of Oiles, which is very great in that Country.

The King of *Spain* baniſheth them all.

King *Philip* the third found no other ſecure way to hinder the dangerous effects of their conſpiracies, but baniſhing them quite out of his Territories; which he did by an Edict of the tenth of *January*, in the year 1610. which was executed with much cruelty, Inhumanity and Treachery. For in Tranſporting theſe unfortunate people into *Affrica* as they had demanded, part were drowned in the Sea, others deſpoiled of all they had: ſo that thoſe who remained to depart, perceiving the ill Treatment of their Com-

They are horribly ill Treated by the *Spaniards*, Companions; fled towards *France*, some part by land to St. *John de Luz*, to the number of one hundred and fifty thouſand; others in *French* Veſſels, who brought them into divers ports of the Kingdom. But to ſpeak truth, thoſe who came by land were not much better treated by the *French*, then the others had been by the *Spaniards*: for in croſſing the Countries, they were almoſt all robbed and ſtript, and their Wives and Daughters raviſhed: ſo that finding ſo little ſafety in a Country wherein they believed they might find refuge, they embarqued by the Kings permiſſion in the Ports of *Languedoc*, and croſſed over into *Affrica*, where they are become implacable and moſt cruel enemies to all Chriſtians. There remained ſome families in the Maritime Cities of the Kingdom, as in *Bourdeaux* and *Rouen*; where it is ſuſpected there is yet ſome of their Children, who privately follow the obſtinacy of their Fathers.

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and by the *French*.

They are carried into *Affrica*, but ſome ſtay in *France*.

Much contrary to the taking the protection of theſe Infidels, the King was about very great deſignes for the glory and extent of the Chriſtian Religion towards the *Levant*. But he would not declare himſelf, till he had ſo ordered the Affairs of *Chriſtendome*, that there ſhould be no fear of any trouble or diviſion, and that it might make uſe of all its forces againſt ſo powerful an enemy as the *Grand Signior*. On theſe thoughts, he had ſent three or four Gentlemen into the *Levant*, who under the pretence of travelling and viſiting the

The great deſigne of *Henry* 4. for the extent of the Chriſtian Religion in the *Levant*.

He ſends ſome to ſpy the Country.

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holy places, might take notice of the Country, the disposition of the people, the estate of their Forces, the Garisons and Government of the Turks. Which having well considered, he promised himself, that after having composed the interests, and procured the union of the Christian Princes, he might in three or four years almost ruine this power esteemed so terrible; and that with an Army of five and thirty thousand foot-men, and twelve thousand horse onely: *Alexander* the Great not having had more Forces to destroy the Empire of the *Persians*, which without doubt was greater and more powerful then that of the *Turks*.

I shall declare what his great designe for the re-union of *Christendome* was, when I shall in brief have observed some important things which passed in the three or four last years of his Life.

He seeks means to raise mony without burthening his people.

He would disengage his demain.

**The Greffis is a due to the King of 63 s. 9 d. Tours upon the sale of wood in severall places.*

As he laboured diligently to heap up money, the Nerves of War, so he hearkned to all Propositions made for the gaining it; so much the more willingly, because his designe was to abolish all Taxes and Impositions. The first could not be done without much diminishing his Revenue; so it was necessary to find some other foundation in its place. Now this stock or foundation was the Demains of the Crown, which he would entirely disengage & encrease by a great quantity of new rights, and particularly by that of the * *Greffes*, which had been quite withdrawn for five or six years, but had brought him fifteen Millions a year. But when he was dead; Queen *Mary de Medicis* re-engaged it farther then it was before.

It is certainly worth our wiſhing, that this ſacred Patrimony of the Crown might be regained, and that care were taken to re-gather this Maſs, which the Law of the Realm, and the diligences of ſo many wiſe Heads, have made and compoſed for the ſpace of ſo many Ages, to maintain our Kings with ſplendour and magnificence, without being a charge to their Kingdome, except in great and urgent neceſſities.

and take off the Impoſt by buying the Salt-Mariſhes.

As for the Impoſt, our *Henry* had a deſire to buy from the particular Owners all the Salt-Mariſhes of *Poictou* and *Brittanny*; and then when he had them in his hand, ſell the Salt upon the place at what price he pleaſed to the Merchant, who ſhould again retail it through the whole Kingdom, as they do Corn, without any conſtraint or impoſition. In this manner there had been no need of ſo many Officers, Overſeers, Controulers, Factors, and a hundred other people, which without fallacy amounted to near twenty thouſand, all fed and paid at the expence of the King and Publick, and againſt whom he had often very great complaints. Thus the poor Country-people would not be burthened by them with impoſed Salt, conſtraining them, will they, nill they, to take yearly a certain quantity: and it is certain the people would have had it four times better cheap then they have, and the King have raiſed much more money then he doth, without expence, without pains, and without the vexation of his ſubjects.

Now the King ſeeking means to fill his Coffers, and to finde ſome other way then Taxes; it muſt be acknowledged that he made ſome Impoſts, and likewiſe ſome creation of Officers; but that he removed many things which gave cauſe of complaint to many perſons. And moreover, to pay his ancient Debts, and acquit himſelf of the recompences and penſions due to thoſe which had ſerved him in his Wars againſt the League, he was conſtrained to paſs for their profit the advice of ſeveral things which they propoſed; ſo that he loaded himſelf with that envy and thoſe reproaches, which ought more juſtly have fallen upon thoſe people then on himſelf. But thoſe who knew his intentions, blamed him not as did the others; for they called that good husbandry and wiſe œconomy, which ſome termed avarice and inſatiable covetouſneſs.

He is conſtrained to acquit himſelf of old ſcores, to make ſome new impoſts, & creations.

Moreover, though the will of this Prince was very good for the eaſe of his people, and for the grandeur of his Eſtate; nevertheleſs it cannot be denied but he was ſometimes deceived in the choice of the means; and that all thoſe whereby he furniſhed himſelf, were not always as innocent as his intentions. He had two particularly, of which the one made ſome noiſe, but never ſucceeded; and the other was of very dangerous conſequence.

He makes not always uſe of innocent means.

The firſt, was an inquiſition of the Rents of the * *Hoſtel de Ville*, by which he pretended to make thoſe looſe them, who had ill gained them;

Inquiſition of the rents of the City-houſe cauſe diſturbance.

* *Hoſtel de Ville is the ſame at* Paris; *as Guild-hall at* London.

them; and this in it ſelf was very juſt; but the moſt part of the Rents having changed Owners, or been parted, he muſt of force trouble an infinite number of Families; ſo that all *Paris* was moved at it, and the Landlords had recourſe to their Provoſt of the Merchants. This was *Miron*, who was likewiſe *Civil Lieutenant*; a man very zealous for the ſervice of the King, as he had demonſtrated in ſeveral occaſions: but withal, a very honeſt Man, and one whom no intereſt in the world could bribe againſt the peoples, whoſe Magiſtrate he was. In ſum, he ſuſtained it ſtoutly, he ſpoke in the Aſſemblies of the *Hoſtel de Ville*, acted with the Superintendent with like vigour, and made Remonſtrances to the King. But in theſe Remonſtrances, too much heat tranſported him to make ſome odious Compariſons, not of the Kings perſon, but of ſome people of his Council.

Miron, Provoſt of the Merchants, ſuſtains the intereſt of the people.

The *Louvre* ſtormed; the people of the Court cryed out, that he had blaſphemed thoſe whom he had taken notice of in his ſpeeches. And thoſe who were intereſted in this inquiſition after Rents, uſed all their endeavours to incenſe the King, and to perſwade him to puniſh rigorouſly this boldneſs. On the other ſide, the people having underſtood that their Magiſtrate was threatned, took fire ſooner then it was believed: the Burgeſſes came in troops about his houſe to defend it. *Miron* inſtantly entreated them to retire, and not to make him Criminal. He remonſtrated

Some would incenſe the King againſt him.

The people riſe to defend him.

to them, that he feared nothing; that they had to do with a King as ſweet and juſt as he was great and wiſe, and who would not let himſelf be carried away by the perſwaſions of ill Counſellors.

The King counſelled to take him by force.

Upon this, thoſe who wiſhed him ill, employed all their endeavours to engage the King to take him by force, and to make valid his ſupreme Authority: but he wiſely anſwered theſe people, That Authority doth not always conſiſt in proſecuting things to the utmoſt extremity: That the time, the perſons, and the cauſe, ought to be regarded: That having been ten years extinguiſhing the fire of Civil War, he feared even the leaſt ſparkles: That *Paris* had coſt him too much, to hazard the leaſt danger of looſing it, which ſeemed to him infallible, if he followed their counſel, becauſe he ſhould be obliged to make terrible examples, which would in few days deprive him of the glory of his Clemency, and the love of his people, which he prized as much as, nay above, his Crown: That he had in an hundred other occaſions made proof of the fidelity and honeſty of *Miron*, who had no ill intention, but without doubt he believed himſelf obliged by the duty of his Charge, to do what he did: That if ſome inconſiderate words had eſcaped him, he might well pardon them for his paſt ſervices: That after all, if this man affected to be the Martyr of the people, he would not give him that glory, nor attract to himſelf the name of Perſecutor or Tyrant: And that in fine,

The Kings wiſe anſwer worthy a great Politician.

fine,

ſince, he would not proſecute a man whom he would reſolve to looſe, in ſo advantagious occaſions.

Thus this wiſe King knew how prudently to diſſemble a little fault: nor would he underſtand what paſſed, for fear of being obliged to ſome blow of Authority, which might poſſibly have had dangerous Conſequences. He received therefore very favourably the excuſes and humble ſubmiſſions of *Miron*, and after prohibited the farther purſuing the inquiſitions of Rents, which had cauſed ſo much trouble.

He will not purſue this buſineſs of the Rents.

The ſecond means of which he ſerved himſelf to raiſe money, and which was of very dangerous conſequence, was the *Paulete*, or Annual Right. To underſtand this buſineſs well, we muſt make ſome recital of things farther off.

Eſtabliſhment of the *Paulete*.

The Offices of Judicature, of Policy and of the Revenues, had formerly been exerciſed in *France* under the firſt and ſecond Race of our Kings, by Gentlemen: for the Nobility was obliged to ſtudy and underſtand the Laws of the Kingdom. They were choſen for the maturity of their Age and Judgement: they were changed from time to time, from one ſeat to another: nor took they any Fees from Parties, but onely a Salary very moderate, which the Publick paid them rather for honour than recompence. Afterwards in the end of the ſecond Race, and the beginning of the third, the Nobility becoming ignorant and

Juſtice formerly adminiſtred in *France* by Gentlemen.

weak

Part III. weak together, the Plebeians and Burgeſſes having learnt the knowledge of the Laws, raiſed themſelves by little and little to theſe Charges, and began to make them better worth, becauſe they drew all their Honour and all their Dignity thence, not having any other by their birth, as the Gentlemen had. Yet they had not over-much employment; for the Church-men poſſeſſed almoſt all the Juriſdiction, and had their Officers which adminiſtred Juſtice.

How it fell into the hands of the Plebeians, who made profit of it.

The Parliament of *France* meddle with particular affairs, and is made ſedentary at *Paris*.

In the mean time, the Parliament, which before was as the Council of Eſtate of the Kingdom, and an Epitomy of the general Eſtates, taking upon them to trouble themſelves with the knowledge of differences between particular perſons, whereas before they onely treated of great Affairs of Policy; *Philip* the fair, or according to ſome others, *Lewis Hutin* his ſon, made it ſedentary at *Paris*. Now this Company of Judges being moſt illuſtrious, becauſe the King often took ſeat amongſt them; the Dukes, Peers and Prelates of the Realm made a part of them, and that the moſt able people for Law were choſen to fill places there; they made depend upon them all the power of other Judges Royal, to wit, the Bayliffs and Seneſchals, who though before Soveraign Judges, became now Subalternate to them.

They make all other Judges ſubalternate to them.

Long time after, our other Kings created likewiſe at divers times many other Parliaments, but out of a ſole intention the better to diſtribute Juſtice without any pecuniary in-

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intereſts; for by it they charged their Coffers with new Wages, to be paid theſe new Officers.

The number of the Officers of Parliament ſmall.

At this time the number of the Officers of Juſtice was very ſmall; and the order which was obſerved to fill the vacancies in Parliament, perfectly good. The cuſtome was, to keep a Regiſter of all the able Advocates and Lawyers; and when any Office came to be vacant, they choſe three, whoſe Names they carried to the King, who preferred him he pleaſed. But the Favourites and the Courtiers ſoon corrupted this Order: they perſwaded the Kings not to confine themſelves to thoſe preſented, but to name one of their proper motions: which thoſe people did, to draw ſome preſent from him who ſhould be named by their recommendation. And the abuſe was ſo great, that oftentimes the Charges were filled with ignorant People and Porters; by reaſon of which, people of merit held the condition of an Advocate much more honourable then that of a Counſellour.

How Offices became vendible

The miſchief dayly encreaſing, and the rich people becoming extreamly liquoriſh of theſe Charges for lucre, and their Wives out of vanity, thoſe who governed began to make a Merchandize of them, and to draw money from them. Thus under *Lewis* the xii. his Coffers being exhauſted by the long Wars of *Italy*, the Offices of the Revenue began to become vendible. However, that good King having ſoon foreſeen the dangerous conſequence,

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quitted, reſolved to re-imburſe thoſe who had bought them; but dying in that good deſigne, *Francis* the firſt, of whom he had well predicted that he would * ſpoile all, ſold likewiſe thoſe of Judicature: afterwards new ones were at ſeveral times created, onely of purpoſe to raiſe money.

under *Francis* 1.

* *He had often ſaid, That fat Boy would ſpoile all.*

and *Henry* 2.

Afterward *Henry* the ſecond his Son created the Preſidents; and *Charles* the ninth, and *Henry* the third heaping ill upon ill, and ruine upon ruine, made a great number of other Creations of all ſorts, to have theſe Wares to ſell. And moreover, they ſold Offices when they were vacant, either by death or forfeiture.

Hitherto the ill was great, but not incurable: a part of theſe Offices need onely have been ſuppreſſed, when they became vacant; and the reſt when ſo, filled with perſons of capacity and merit. Thus in twenty years, this Ants-neſt of Officers might have been reduced to a very little number, and thoſe as honeſt people.

How this might be remedied.

But the buſineſs was not in this manner made known to *Henry* the Great: they repreſented it to him in another ſenſe. They let him underſtand, that ſince he drew no profit from vacant Offices, being almoſt always obliged to give them, he would do well to finde the means to diſcharge that way his Coffers of a part of the Wages he paid his Officers; which he might do, by granting them their Offices for their Heirs; reſerving a moderate ſum of money which they ſhould yearly pay, yet without conſtraining any perſon; ſo that it ſhould be a favour, and not an oppreſſion. This was named the Annual Right, otherwiſe the *Paulete*, from the name of the propoſer, named *Paulet*, who gave the Counſel, and was the firſt Farmer. All the Officers were not wanting to pay this Right, to aſſure their Offices to their heirs.

But on the contrary it made it incurable by the *Paulete*.

We need not here tell the miſchiefs and inconveniencies, which this wicked invention hath cauſed, and doth daily cauſe. The moſt ſtupid may eaſily know them, and feel well that it is a diſeaſe whoſe remedy at preſent is difficult.

Which cauſes great abuſes.

I will not charge this Hiſtory with all the Ceremonies and Rejoycings made at the Birth and Baptiſm of all the Children of *Henry the Great*, nor at divers Marriages of the Princes and Grandees of the Court, amongſt others of the Prince of *Condé*, and the Duke of *Vendoſme*, which were made in the Month of *July*, 1609.

1609. Marriage of the Prince of *Condé*.

The Prince of *Condé* Eſpouſed *Charlotte Margarita of Montmorancy*, Daughter of the Conſtable, who was wonderfully fair, and had a preſence abſolutely noble: which the King having conſidered, was more lively ſtruck with her, than he had ever been with any other: which cauſed a little after, the retreat of the Prince of *Condé*, who carried her into *Flanders*, and thence retired to *Milain*. Not without the King's extreme diſpleaſure,

to

[illegible] the ſubſtance of [illegible] [illegible] his enemies [illegible]

And of the Duke of Vendoſme.

The Duke of [illegible] ſelf [illegible] [illegible] from the [illegible] ninety ſeven, [illegible] ſaid [illegible] of the Lady [illegible] punctilio's of honour, [illegible] to the accompliſhment of this Marriage, that he had never been made [illegible] King highly concerned himſelf in [illegible] of the leaſt difficulties [illegible] he had a high and [illegible] ſpirit [illegible]; however, he employed only [illegible] and perſwaſions, acting in this [illegible] as a Father who loved his Son, [illegible] a King who would be obeyed.

What were the Kings divertiſements.

Nor will I ſpeak of his ordinary divertiſements, Hunting, Building, [illegible] and Walking. I will adde only, That [illegible] he would appear [illegible] Companion, and a Jovial [illegible]. [illegible] a merry humour when he had [illegible] in his hand, though very ſober [illegible] and good Diſcourſe were the [illegible] part of the good Chear. [illegible] Agility and Strength [illegible] the [illegible], Courſe at the Ring, [illegible] Gallantries [illegible] Ladies [illegible] would delight in Balls [illegible] to ſpeak [illegible] affection than good [illegible] Prince [illegible]

ſuch

[illegible] Raillery, said that a Grey-beard [illegible] [illegible] to act the young man. It may be said for his excuse, that the great toiles of his spirit had need of these divertisments. But I know not what to answer to those who reproach him with too great a love to playing at Cards and Dice, little befitting a great King; and that withal he was no fair Gamester, but greedy of winning, fearful at great Stakes, and [illegible] upon a loss. To this I must acknowledge, that it was a fault in this great King, who was no more exempt from Blots, than the Sun from Beams.

He loved Play too much.

And it might be wished for the honour of his memory, that he had been only guilty of this; but this continual weakness he had for fair Ladies was another much more blamable in a Christian Prince, in a man of his age, who was married, to whom God had blessed so many graces, and who had conceived such great designs in his spirit. Sometimes he had desires which were passing, and only for a night: but when he met with beauties which struck him to the heart, he loved even to folly; and in these transports appeared nothing less then *Henry* the Great.

He was extremely given to women.

The Fable saith that *Hercules* took the Spindle and Spun, for the love of the fair *Omphale*: *Henry* did something more mean [illegible] himself. He once disguised himself like a Country-man, with a Wallet of straw on his back, to come to the fair *Gabrielle*. And it hath been reported, that the Marchioness

This passion made him do shameful things.

Part III. [illegible] hath [illegible] him more then once at her feet, bearing [illegible] disdain [illegible].

Three or four of his *Mistresses.* Twenty Romances might be made of the intrigues of his several loves with the Court Ladies, when he was yet but King of *Navarre*; with *Jacqueline of Bueil*, whom he made Countess of *Moret*; and with *Charlotte des Essarts*, without counting many other Ladies, who held it a glory to have some Charm for so great a King.

This causes often contentions with his wife. The high esteem and affection which the *French* had for him, hindred them from being offended at so scandalous a liberty; but the Queen his wife was extreamly perplexed at it; which hourly caused controversies between them, and carried her to disdains and troublesome humours. The King, who was in fault, endured it very patiently, and employed his greatest Confidents, and sometimes his Confessors, to appease his spirit. So that there was daily a reconciliation to make. And these contentions were so ordinary, that the Court which at first were astonished at them, in the end took no more notice. Conjugal duty without doubt obliged the King not to violate his faith to his legitimate Spouse, at least not to keep his Mistresses in her sight; but if in this point he ought to have been a good husband, so he ought to be likewise in that of Authority, and in accustoming his wife to obey him, [illegible] and not to perplex him with hourly complaints, reproaches, and sometimes threats.

The trouble and displeasure of these Do-mestick broils, certainly retarded the Exe-cution of that great design which he had for-med for the good and perpetual repose of *Christendom*, and assured for the destruction of the *Ottoman* [illegible] Many have spoken diversly; but see here what I find in the *Memoirs* or Notes of the Duke of *Sully*; who certainly must know something, being as he was, so great a Confi-dent of this King; which makes me report it faithfully.

And hinders his great design.

What that was.

The King (said he) desiring to put in Exe-cution those projects he had conceived after the Peace of *Vervins*, believed that he ought first to establish in his Kingdom an absolute Peace, by reconciling all Spirits both to him and among themselves, and taking away all causes of bitterness. And that moreover it was necessary for him to choose people capable and faithful; who might see in what his Re-venue and Estate might be bettered, and in-struct him so well in all his Affairs, that he might of himself take Counsel, and discern the good from the ill, feasible from impossible enterprizes, and such as were proportionate to his Revenue [illegible] [illegible] the peoples [illegible] [illegible] followed [illegible] [illegible]

The means with which he served himself, to put it in Execution.

He granted an Edict to the *Hugonots*, that the two Religions might live in Peace. Af-terwards he made a certain and fixed Ord-

To this purpose he grants an Edict to the *Hugonots*, and pays his debts.

[illegible] dom to pay his debts, and those of the Kingdom contracted by the diſorders of the times; the proviſions of his Anceſtors; and by the payments and purchaſes of men and places which he was forced to make during the League. *Sully* ſhewed him an accompt in the year 1607. by which appeared Acquittances for eighty ſeven Millions; which eſtabliſhed the reputation and credit of *France* among ſtrangers, by whom it was before much cried out upon.

Which regains the reputation and credit of *France*.

That done, he continually laboured to joyn to his great deſign all *Christian* Princes, offering to give them all the fruit of his Enterprizes againſt the Infidels, without reſerving any thing for himſelf; for he would not, ſaid he, have other Eſtates then *France*.

He joyns to him all *Christian* Princes by promiſing his conqueſts.

He likewiſe propoſed to himſelf the ſeeking of all occaſions to extinguiſh diſorders and to pacifie differences among the *Christian* Princes, ſo ſoon as they ſhould ſee them conceived, and that without any other intereſt, then that of the Reputation of a Prince Generous, diſintereſted, wiſe and juſt.

He reunites them, by accommodating their differences.

He began to make his Friends and Aſſociates the Princes and Eſtates which ſeemed beſt diſpoſed towards *France*, and the leaſt indiſpoſed to its intereſts; as the Eſtates of *Holland*, or the United Provinces; the *Venetians*, the *Swiſſes*, and the *Griſons*. After having bound them to him by very ſtrong ties, he endeavoured to negotiate with the three

The Princes he made his friends.

puiſſant Kingdomes of the North, *England*, *Denmark* and *Sweden*, to diſcuſs and decide their differences; and likewiſe to endeavour to reconcile them to the Pope, or at leaſt to obtain a ceſſation of what had paſſed and amity by ſome formulary; in ſuch manner as they might live together; ſo that it had been advantagious to the Pope, in that they had acknowledged him for the firſt Prince of *Chriſtendome* as to Temporals, and in that caſe rendred him all reſpect. He endeavoured in fine to do the ſame thing among the Electors, the Eſtates and Cities Imperial, being obliged particularly, ſaid he, to take care of the Empire that had been founded by his Predeceſſours. Afterwards he ſounded the Lords of *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Tranſylvania* and *Poland*, to know if they would concur with him in the deſigne of taking away and rooting up for ever all cauſes of trouble and diviſion in *Chriſtendome*. He treated likewiſe with the Pope, who approved and praiſed this Enterprize, and deſired to contribute on his part all that ſhould be poſſible.

How he would have accommodated the Proteſtant Princes with the Pope.

He treats with the Electors.

With the Lords of *Bohemia*, *Hungary* & *Poland*.

With the Pope.

There were the diſpoſitions of this great deſigne, of which I ſhall now give you the platform and model.

The Principal model of the deſigne of *Hen.* 4.

He deſired perfectly to unite all *Chriſtendom*, ſo that it ſhould be one body, which had been and ſhould be called the *Chriſtian Commonwealth*; for which effect he had determined to part it into fifteen Dominions or Eſtates, which was the moſt he could do to make them of equal power and ſtrength, and whoſe limits

He would part *Chriſtendome* into fifteen equal Dominions.

ſhould be ſo well ſpecified by the univerſal conſent of the whole fifteen, that none could paſs beyond them. Theſe fifteen Dominations were the *Pontificate* or *Papacy*, the Empire of *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, *Great Britain*, *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, *Poland*, *Danemark*, *Swedeland*, *Savoy*, or the Kingdom of *Lombardy*, the *Signory* of *Venice*, the *Italian* Commonwealth, or of the little Princes and Cities of *Italy*, the *Belgians* or *Low-Countries*, and the *Swiſſes*.

To wit, eleven Kingdoms, and four Republicks.

Of theſe Eſtates, there had been five ſucceſſive; *France*, *Spain*, *Great Britain*, *Swedeland* and *Lumbardy*: ſix elective; the *Papacy*, the *Empire*, *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, *Poland* and *Danmark*; four Republicks; two of which had been *Democratical*, to wit, the *Belgians* and the *Swiſſes*; and two *Ariſtocratical* or *Signories*, that of *Venice*, and that of the little Princes and Cities of *Italy*.

What the Pope had had.

The Pope had had beſides thoſe Lands he poſſeſſes, the whole Kingdome of *Naples*, and Homages as well of the *Italian* Commonwealth, as for the Iſland of *Sicily*.

The *Signory* of *Venice*.

The *Signory* of *Venice* had had *Sicily* in faith and homage of the holy Seat, without other rights then a ſimple kiſſing of feet, and a Crucifix of gold from twenty years to twenty years.

The *Italian* Commonwealth.

The *Italian* Commonwealth had been compoſed of the Eſtates of *Florence*, *Genoua*, *Lucca*, *Mantoua*, *Parma*, *Modena*, *Monacho*, and other little Princes and Lords; and had likewiſe held of the holy Seat, paying onely for all by advance of a Crucifix of gold worth ten thouſand Franks.

Part III. Duke of *Savoy*.

The Duke of *Savoy* beſides thoſe Lands he poſſeſſed, ſhould likewiſe have *Milan*; and all ſhould be erected into a Kingdom by the Pope, under the title of the Kingdom of *Lombardy*: from which ſhould have been taken *Cremona* in exchange of *Montferrat*, which ſhould be joyned.

Republick of the *Swiſſes*.

There ſhould have been incorporated with the *Helvetian* or Republick of the *Swiſſes*, the *French County*, *Alſatia*, *Tirol*, the Country of *Trent* and their dependences; and it had done a ſimple homage to the Emperour of *Germany*, from five and twenty to five and twenty years.

The Low-Countries.

All the ſeventeen Provinces of the Low-Countries, as well Proteſtants as Catholicks, ſhould have been eſtabliſhed into a free and ſoveraign Republick, ſave onely a like homage to the Empire: and this Dominion ſhould have been encreaſed by the Dutchy of *Cleves*, of *Juliers*, of *Berghe*, *de la Mark*, and *Ravenſtein*, and other little neighbouring *Signories*.

Kingdome of *Hungary*.

To the Kingdome of *Hungary* had been joyned the Eſtates of *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia* and *Valachia*.

The Empire with free election.

The Emperour had for ever renounced aggrandizing himſelf or his by any confiſcation, diſinheritance or reverſion of Fiefs Maſculine; but had diſpoſed vacant Fiefs in favour of perſons out of his Kindred, by the conſent of the Electors and Princes of the Empire. It ſhould likewiſe have been held of accord that the Empire ſhould never upon any occaſion whatſo-

[illegible] to be held ſucceſſively by two Princes of one houſe, for fear of its perpetuating, as it hath done a long time in that of *Auſtria*.

Bohemia and Hungary elective.

The Kingdoms of *Hungary* and of *Bohemia* had been likewiſe elective by the voices of ſeven Electors; to wit, 1. that of the Nobles, Clergy, and Cities of thoſe Countries; 2. of the Pope; 3. of the Emperour; 4. of the King of *France*: 5. of the King of *Spain*: 6. of the King of *England*: 7. of the Kings of *Sweden*, *Denmark* and *Poland*, which three had made but one voice.

A general Council of ſixty perſons.

Beſides, to regulate the differences which might ariſe between the Confederates, and to decide them without fight of Arms, there ſhould have been eſtabliſhed an Order and Form of Procedure, by a general Council, compoſed of ſixty perſons, four on the part of every Dominion; which ſhould have been placed in ſome City in the midſt of *Europe*, as *Mets*, *Nancy*, *Colen*, or other.

Three others, each twenty.

There ſhould likewiſe have been eſtabliſhed three others in three ſeveral places, every one of twenty men, which ſhould all three make their report to the grand Council.

Order to hinder tyranny and rebellion.

Moreover, by the conſent of the general Council, which ſhould be called the Senate of the Chriſtian Commonwealth, there ſhould be eſtabliſhed an Order and Regulation between Soveraigns and Subjects, to hinder on one ſide the Oppreſſion and Tyranny of Princes; and on the other ſide, the Tumults and Rebellions of Subjects. There ſhould likewise be raised and maintained a stock of money, Men, and Arms, to which every Dominion should contribute according to the Assessment of the general Council; for the assistance of the Dominions bordering upon Infidels from their Assaults; to wit, Hungary and Poland against those of the Turks; and Sweedland and Poland against the Muscovites and Tartars.

And to assist the Provinces adjoining unto Infidels.

Again, when all these fifteen Dominions had been well established with their rights, their Governours and Limits, which he hoped might be done in less then three years: they should together of their own accord have chosen three general Captains, two by Land, and one by Sea, who should all at once have assaulted the *Ottoman*-house; to which each Dominion should have contributed a certain quantity of Men, Ships, Artillery and Money, according to the Tax imposed. The sum in gross which they should furnish out, should amount to two hundred sixty five thousand foot-men, fifty thousand horse, a train of two hundred and seventeen pieces of Cannon, with Waggons, Officers, and Ammunition proportionable, and one hundred and seventeen great Ships, without counting Vessels of less force, Fire-ships, or Ships of Burden.

Three general Captains, two by Land, and one by Sea against the Turks.

What forces & provisions [illegible] ty.

This establishment would have been advantageous to all the Princes and Estates of *Europe*. There was onely the house of *Austria* which would suffer any loss, and which was to be despoiled to accommodate others.

None but the house of *Austria* had suffered by this establishment.

But

Part III.

In *Italy* the Pope, *Venetians* and *Savoyard*, would conſent:

In *Germany* many Electors; and had choſen the Duke of *Bavaria* Emperour.

In *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, the Lords and Nobility.

But the project was laid to make them either willingly or by force conſent, in this manner. Firſt, it is to be ſuppoſed, that on the part of *Italy*, the Pope, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, were well informed of the Kings deſignes, and that they ought to aſſiſt with all their forces; eſpecially the *Savoyard*, who was moreover extreamly animated, becauſe the King gave his Daughter in marriage to his ſon *Victor Amadeus*. In *Germany* four Electors; to wit, the *Palatine*, *Brandebourg*, *Colen*, and *Mentz* were likewiſe to know it, and favour it; and the Duke of *Bavaria* had their word, and that of the King, to raiſe him to the Empire; and many Imperial Cities had already addreſſed themſelves to the King, to beſeech him to honour them with his protection; and to maintain them in their Priviledges, which had been aboliſhed by the houſe of *Auſtria*. In *Bohemia* and *Hungaria* there was intelligence held with the Lords and Nobility; and that the people, deſperate with the weight of that yoak, were ready to ſhake it off, and to relieve themſelves on the firſt proffered occaſion.

The buſineſs of *Cleves* happens to give a beginning to the great deſigne.

All theſe diſpoſitions being ſo favourable to him, the buſineſs of *Cleves* happened, of which we at preſent ſhall ſpeak, which furniſhed him with a fair occaſion to begin the execution of his projects; which he was to do in this manner.

Having raiſed an Army of forty thouſand men, as he did, he was in his march to diſpatch towards all the Princes of *Chriſtendom*, to give them the knowledge of his juſt and holy intentions. After, under the pretext of going to *Cleves*, he was to ſeize all the paſſages of *la Meuſe*, and all at once aſſault *Charlemont*, *Maſtrick*, and *Namur*, which were but ill fortified. At the ſame time the Cities of the Low-Countries had cryed out for liberty, and the Lords put themſelves in the Field for the ſame purpoſe, and had blazoned the *Belgique* Lyon with the *Flowers de Lis*. The *Hollanders* had infeſted the Coaſts with their Ships in very great number, to hinder the Traffick of the *Flemins* by Sea, as it was ſhut up by the *French* by Land: which ſhould have been done of purpoſe to haſten the people to ſhake off the *Spaniſh* Rule, and to addreſs themſelves to the King and to the Princes his Aſſociates, to pray the King of *Spain* to put them in liberty; and out of his goodneſs to reſtore peace to them, which they could never hope ſo long as they were under his Dominion.

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The Cities of *Flanders* ſhould revolt.

In all probable appearance, at the approach of ſo great an Army, by reaſon of the intelligences of the principal Lords, by the inſurrection of the great Cities, and of the love which theſe people have ſtill had for liberty, *Flanders* would all have riſen: eſpecially when they had ſeen the wonderful order and exact diſcipline of his ſouldiers, who ſhould have lived like good Gueſts, paying for all, and not doing the leaſt outrage upon pain of death; and when it ſhould be known that he laboured for the

The Kings Army ſhould have lived in great order.

ſafety

Part III. tary of the people, not reſerving any thing of all his Conqueſts, but the glory and the ſatisfaction of having reſtored thoſe Provinces to themſelves, without keeping ſo much as a Caſtle or Village to himſelf.

The King would have reſerved nothing of his Conqueſts.

At the ſame time that he had put Flanders into a free ſtate, and accommodated the difference of the ſucceſſion of *Cleves*; all the Princes intereſſed in this buſineſs, the Electors we have named, and the Deputies of many great Cities, were to come and thank him, and intreat him that he would joyn his Prayers and his Authority to the ſupplications they had to make to the Emperour, to diſpoſe him to reſtore the Eſtates and Cities of the Empire to their ancient Rights and Immunities, and above all, in the free Election of a King of the *Romans*, without uſing any practices, conſtraints, promiſes and threats. And that for this effect it ſhould be from that moment reſolved, that they ſhould elect one of another houſe then that of *Auſtria*. They had agreed among themſelves, that it ſhould be the Duke of *Bavaria*. The Pope had joyned with them in this requeſt, which had been made with ſuch inſtance, that it had been difficult for the *Emperour* being maſtered as he was, to have refuſed it.

He had with other Princes prayed the Emperour to re-reſtore the Cities of the Empire to liberty.

The like requeſt had been made to the King and his Aſſociates, by the people of *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Auſtria*, *Stiria*, and *Carinthia*: above all, for the right they had themſelves to make choice of their Prince, and to put themſelves under that form of Go-

Bohemia, *Hungary*, & *Auſtria*, had made the ſame requeſt.

Government, then ſhould think beſt, by the advice of their friends and allies. To which the King condeſcending, had uſed all ſorts of fair means, prayers and ſupplications, even below his dignity; that it might be ſeen he intended not ſo much to ſerve himſelf of powers, as of equity and reaſon.

The King would have reſerved nothing of his Conqueſts.

After this the Duke of *Savoy* by the ſame way had demanded of the King of *Spain* with all ſorts of civility, and in the name of his children, that he would be pleaſed to give them a Dower for their Mother, as good and advantagious as he had to their Aunt *Iſabella*; and in caſe of refuſal, the King was to permit *Leſdiguieres* to aſſiſt him with fifteen thouſand Footmen, and two thouſand Horſe, for the Conqueſt of *Milan*, or the Country of *Lombardy*, in which he would have been favoured by the greateſt part of the Princes of *Italy*.

The Duke of *Savoy* had demanded the Dower of his wife from the *Spaniard*.

This done, he with his Aſſociates, were to beſeech the Pope and the *Venetians* to become Arbitrators between him and the King of *Spain*, to terminate friendly theſe differences which were ready to break forth between them, by reaſon of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Navarre*, and *Rouſſillon*. And then to ſhew that he had no thought to aggrandize himſelf, nor other ambition than to ſettle the repoſe of *Chriſtendome*, he had ſhewed himſelf ready to yield to the *Spaniard* *Navarre* and *Rouſſillon*, ſo that he reſtored *Naples* and *Sicily*; not for himſelf, for he would have no other Eſtate then

The Pope and *Venetians* to become mediators of the difference of *Navarre*, *Naples*, *Savoy*, &c.

And the King had yeilded his right.

then

than *France*; but for the Pope and for the *Venetians*, to whom he yielded his right over those Countries.

He had by a Legat Apoſtolick, and by the Remonſtrances of all his Aſſociates, let the King of *Spain* underſtand his deſign, together with the Princes of his houſe, and had conjured them by the blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* to conſent to it, as being Holy, Pious, Charitable, Glorious, and Profitable to all *Chriſtendom*. They had withal laid before him the advantages which would have come to himſelf; and endeavoured to make him comprehend that he would be more rich, leſs diſturbed, and more peaceable; That in twenty years *Spain*, which was almoſt deſert, would be repeopled, and become the moſt flouriſhing Eſtate of *Europe*. I believe it would have been difficult to perſwade him: for an unlimited and ill-deſigning ambition embraces rather Chimera's then ſolid things; and chooſes rather to poſſeſs vaſt and deſert Countries, then reaſonable ones well cultivated and well peopled: but poſſibly Arms might have convinced him, if reaſon failed.

They had perſwaded the King of *Spain*, or elſe forced him.

For the reſt, the King had reſolved to lay down all pretenſions; not to keep any thing of what he Conquered; not to enterprize any thing which ſhould not be approved by his Allies, and which he ſaw not them diſpoſed to contribute to; not to begin in many different places at a time, but to purſue his expeditions

The great Prudence and moderation intended by the King in the purſuit of his deſign.

See

by degrees, ſtill attending the ſucceſs of the firſt, before he engaged in others: To ſhew himſelf to be without Ambition, without Covetouſneſs, and Pride in the diſtribution of Quarters, Victuals, Spoils and Conqueſts; [illegible] weak and neceſſitated Eſtates [illegible] ſome honourable and profitable acknowledgment to Captains or Soldiers who had done ſome fair Exploit: Never to enter into thoſe particularities often conceived between friends and Allies, but to appear always equal, juſt, and [illegible] friend [illegible] honourably the [illegible] War, [illegible] reproofs when they deſerved it; [illegible] exactly diſcipline, prohibiting Spoils, Violation and Burnings; that he might be received as the [illegible] Nations, and he who brought Peace and liberty, and not Ruine and Deſolation.

They had perſwaded the King of Spain, or elſe forced him.

He had laid his deſign, and his preparations [illegible] all his Engines to come to this end, with all diligence imaginable, for the ſpace of eight or nine years: he had made Friends and Allies on all ſides, [illegible] intelligence every where, had gained the Colledge of Cardinals by great penſions, had drawn to his ſervice all the good Captains in *Germany* and *Swiſſerland*, had likewiſe gained all the good Pens in Chriſtendome; and indeed he would have choſen rather to perſwade than force people, and [illegible] them to [illegible] in his intentions, than they ſhould have regarded his Arms onely as Tutelar Succours.

The preparations he made.

The great Prudence and moderation inſiſted by the King in the purſuit of his deſign.

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See here the platform of his deſign; which without diſſembling was ſo great, that it may be ſaid, it was conceived by an intelligence more then humane. But how high ſoever it was, it was not above his power: “To “which if Princes proportionate not their “Enterprizes, it happens that they ruine “their Eſtates, juſt as a man who undertakes “a ſuit at Law, or makes greater bargains “then his purſe is able to bear out, is conſtrained in the end to ſell his ſtock, and “drown himſelf in a Sea of debts and “troubles.

The forces he had.

The Prince of *Oranges* Army.

That of the Electors & *German* Princes.

That of the *Venetians* and *Savoyard*.

His Exchequer for defraying this great deſign.

Beſides his forces, which were great in number, but ten times greater in valour, being all choſen men, and having amongſt them four thouſand Gentlemen, daring all things in the ſight of their King; the Prince of *Orange* was to put himſelf in the field with fifteen thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe: The Prince of *Anhalt* in *Germany* had appeared with ten thouſand: The Electors and Duke of *Bavaria* had in a readineſs twice as many, who would have met at ſeveral Rendezvous, at the firſt Sound of the Trumpet: The *Venetians* and Duke of *Savoy* would each have declared with a conſiderable Army at the firſt ſignal given. For the *Swiſſers*, beſides a levy of ſix thouſand choſen men which came to the King, he might have had as many more as he would. As for his ſtock of moneys, all his Troops were paid for three months; his Gariſons well furniſhed, all his

Store-

Part III.

Swiſs; he had forty thouſand men in his Garriſons on the Frontiers; all his Captains honored with great preſents which he had made them; he had fourteen Millions of Livres in the Baſtile, ſeven Millions in the hands of the Treaſurer of the Exchequer, of the Revenue of the preceding year; two Millions in other hands; Moreover, the accrewing Revenue, which was more then twenty ſeven Millions; and beſides all this, *Sully* his chief Treaſurer aſſured him of forty Millions extraordinary for three years, ſo that he might maintain a four years War without burthening his ſubjects with new charges. But he would do it ſo hotly, that it ſhould laſt but a ſhort time: for he held it for a Maxime, "That a wiſe Prince when he is obliged to War, "ought to make it powerful and ſhort, and at "firſt aſtoniſh the world with formidable pre-"parations, becauſe by this means it returns to "good husbandry, and the Conqueſts made "through fear of his Arms, reach farther than "thoſe made by his Arms themſelves.

He would make the War powerfully that it might be ſhort.

I have told you what was his deſign: none but God knows what would have been the ſucceſs. We may ſay however, judging according to appearances, that it could not but be happy; for there appeared no Prince nor State in *Chriſtendom*, who would not have favoured it, or who would have taken the part of the houſe of *Auſtria*, except the Duke of *Saxony* in *Germany*, and the Duke of *Florence* in *Italy*. But the King might have made them both conſent: The firſt, by raiſing againſt him the heirs of that Duke Wil-

Great appearance it might have ſucceeded, having no Prince to oppoſe it but the two Dukes of *Saxony* and *Florence*.

mi, who had formerly been deſpoiled of the Electorate by the Emperour *Charles* the fifth. The ſecond, by ſtirring up *Piſa*, *Sienna* and *Florence* to cry for liberty, and ſhake off their yoak under the *Medicis*.

What was the buſineſs of *Cleves* and *Juliers*.

But it is time that I tell you what was the buſineſs of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, which had furniſhed him with an occaſion to take Arms, and opened ways to him to begin his great deſign. *John-Guillaume* Duke of *Juliers*, *Cleves* and *Bergher*, Earl of the *Mark* and *Ravensbourg*, Son of Duke *Guillaume*, and *Mary* of *Auſtria* Siſter to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and Grand-child to Duke *John*, being dead without children, on the five and twentieth of *March*, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and nine; his Succeſſion bred a Combuſtion in the neighbouring States. He had four Siſters; the firſt married to the Marquis of *Brandenbourg*; the ſecond to the Count Palatine of *Newbourg*; the third to the Duke of *Deux-ponts*; and the fourth to the Marquis of *Burgaw*. The children iſſued from theſe marriages, pretended to this Succeſſion, the neareſt excluding the fartheſt off, and the Sons the Daughters. The Duke of *Saxony*, deſcended from an Elder Daughter of Duke *John* Grand-father of Duke *William*, ſaid likewiſe that it preferably appertained to him, becauſe it was concluded in the contract of the marriage of that Lady, that in caſe an iſſue Male were wanting to the houſe of *Juliers*, the Succeſſion ſhould re-

Death of *John* Duke of *Juliers* without iſſue.

His ſucceſſion diſputed by many, particularly by *Brandenbourg* and *Newbourg*.

turn to him and his deſcendants: Now that arriving, it neceſſarily followed that the Succeſſion was open to him. The Duke of *Nevers* pretended likewiſe to the Dutchy of *Cleves*, as he alone carrying the Name and Arms of *Cleves*: and the Count of *Maulevrier* for the ſame reaſon demanded the County *de la Mark*, for he was the Eldeſt *de la Mark*; and in this quality he pretended likewiſe to the Dutchy of *Bouillon* and the Signory of *Sedan*, which were held by the Viſcount of *Turenne* Marſhal *de Bouillon*. The Emperour ſaid that all the pretenſions of thoſe concurrents were ill founded, for that thoſe Lands being Fiefs Maſculine, could not fall to Daughters; but in default of Males, were devolved to the Empire, and therefore he to have the diſpoſal of them. And upon this right he ſecretly gave the inveſtiture to *Leopold* of *Auſtria* Biſhop of *Strasbourg*, and ſent his forces to ſeize thoſe lands under pretext of Right, and in the mean time aſſigned the parties to appear before his Imperial Majeſty, to give in their reaſons.

The Emperour ſaid it was devolved to the Empire.

He inveſts *Leopold* of *Auſtria*,

The purſuits of the Duke of *Nevers* and the Count of *Maulevrier* were not very hot, becauſe they were made underſtand that the Fiefs they demanded were united, and could not be diſmembred. The Right of the Marquis of *Brandenbourg*, and that of *Newbourg*, being moſt apparent, the greateſt conteſtation was between them. The *Landgrave* of *Heſſe*, their common friend, became

Mediator for them, and made them paſs a tranſaction to decide their difference friendly, without imploying their forces, except againſt Uſurpers; the adminiſtration of the Succeſſion remaining equal and common amongſt them, ſaving the Rights of the Emperour. But in the mean time *Leopold* of *Auſtria* arrives with his forces, and ſeizes *Juliers*.

who whilſt *Brandenbourg* and *Newbourg* diſpute, ſeizes *Juliers*.

They implore the Kings aſſiſtance,

The two Princes reſolved to drive him out, ſought aſſiſtance on all ſides, and particularly implored the Kings; to whom they ſent the Prince of *Anhalt* with the Letters of the Electors *Palatine* and of the Duke of *Wirtenbourg*, who aſſured him that his Arms would be juſt, powerful, and by the grace of God victorious. The Prince of *Anhalt* without doubt diſcourſed with him of many other things touching the great deſign. The King gave his perſon a moſt gracious reception, and received his propoſitions with an unparallel'd joy: he anſwered him in terms as obliging as he could, that he would march in perſon to the aſſiſtance of his good Allies; and that till ſuch time as he could mount on horſeback with an Equipage befitting a King of *France*, he would dayly make ſome Troops advance; which he did about the end of the year 1609. But moreover he prayed him to let the Confederate Princes underſtand, that they would do him great wrong, if they thought that he intended any prejudice to the *Catholick* Religion in that Country: for he deſired above all things that the Exerciſe of it

who promiſes to march in perſon:

But tells him he intended to conſerve the *Catholick* Religion in that Country.

it ſhould be conſerved in the ſame eſtate it was before the death of Duke *William*, who was a Catholick; but *Brandenbourg* and *Newbourg* were Proteſtants.

Anſwer made to the Ambaſſador of the Empire.

The Emperor likewiſe ſent to him Ambaſſadors, one of his chiefeſt Confidents, intreating him not to favour the rebellion and injuſtice of theſe Princes; and to conſider, that he could not aſſiſt them without doing wrong to the Catholick Religion. *Henry* the Great anſwered him, That being the Thrice-Chriſtian King, he ſhould know well how to maintain and amplifie it: but that he acted not to that intent; that the queſtion was onely about ſuccouring his friends, in which he ſhould never be wanting ſo long as he had life.

He eſtabliſhes good order in the Kingdom before his departure.

Leaves the Regency to the Queen, but gives her a good Council.

During the whole Winter, he gave order for all preparations for this Expedition, which was onely the cover to a greater. Being reſolved to purſue himſelf the ſucceſs, he had deliberated before his departure from the Kingdome, to eſtabliſh ſo good an Order for the Government of it, that no trouble could arrive. For this effect, he believed that the beſt way was to leave the Regency to the Queen: but becauſe he knew that ſhe was governed by *Conchini*, whom he did not at all love, he would have her aſſiſted by a Council compoſed of fifteen perſons; to wit, the Cardinals of *Joyeuſe* and *du Peronne*; the Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Montmorency*, and *Montbazon*; the Marſhals of *Briſſac* and *de Fervaques*, *Chaſteau-Neauf*, who ſhould have been Keeper of the

Part III. Seals of the Regency, for the King would take his Chancellour with him; *Achilles de Harlay* firſt Preſident of Parliament.; *Nicholas* firſt Preſident of the Chamber of Accounts; the Count of *Chaſteauvieux*, and the Lord of *Lian-court*, two wiſe Gentlemen; *Pontcarre*, Counſellour of Parliament; *Geſvres*, Secretary of State; and *Maupeou*, Controuller of the Revenues.

He eſtabliſhes little Councils in the Provinces, who refer to the great one.

Moreover, he would eſtabliſh a little Council of five perſons in every one of the twelve Provinces of *France*; to wit, one perſon for the Clergy, one for the Nobility, one for Juſtice, one for the Revenues, and one for the Body of the Cities: and theſe twelve little Councils ſhould have correſpondence with, and dependence on the great one; which ſhould have taken its reſolutions from the plurality of voices, the Queen having onely hers. Nor could it indeed take any, but according to the general Inſtructions formed by the King, or without his Majeſties being informed of it, if it were a thing which his Inſtructions did not clearly enough explain. Thus, though abſent, he kept the Reins of his Government, and tied up the hands of the Queen, for fear leſt ſhe ſhould take too much Authority, or have been induced to abuſe her Command.

1610. Some put it into the ſpirit of the Queen, that ſhe

Whilſt he applyed his ſpirit to theſe things, ſome perſons, amongſt others *Conchini* and his wife, put it into the ſpirit of the Queen, that ſhe ſhould, to acquire more dignity and ſplendour in the eyes of the people, and more advantagiouſly to authorize her Regency, be inſtalled and crowned before the departure of the King. For the ſame Reaſons that ſhe deſired it, the King found it not agreeable to him; beſides that this Ceremony could not be made without a great deal of expence, and without looſing much time, which would keep him at *Paris*, and retard his deſignes. He had an extream impatience to depart from that City; I know not what ſecret inſtinct preſſed him to be gone as ſoon as poſſible: but for this reaſon the Inſtalment troubled him; yet he could not refuſe this mark of his affection to the Queen, who paſſionately deſired it.

Part III. ſhould be inſtalled before the Kings departure.

He, though unwillingly, conſents.

Sully recounts that he heard him ſay more then once, *My Friend, this Inſtalment preſages me ſome misfortune: they will kill me. I ſhall never depart from this City. My Enemies have no other remedy but my death: they have told me that I ſhould be killed at the firſt great Magnificence that I make, and that I ſhould die in a Coach: this makes me often times when I am in one, be aſſaulted with tremblings, and be fearful in deſpite of my ſelf.*

They counſelled him, to ſhun theſe ill Prophecies, to depart on the morrow, and leave the Inſtalment to be done without him: but the Queen was extreamly offended; and he good and obliging, remained onely to content her. The Inſtalment was made at St. *Denis* on the 13 of *May*; and the Queen on the 16 of the ſame moneth was to make her entrance into *Paris*, where there were erected Magnifi-

The inſtalment of the Queen.

cent Preparations to honour this Feaſt.

Many Progno-ſticks, which ſeemed to preſage the death of *Henry* 4.

Already had the forces of the King met at their Rendezvouz on the Frontiers of *Champagne*. Already had the Nobility, who were come from all parts, ſent their Equipages: The Duke of *Rohan* was gone to gather together the ſix thouſand *Swiſſes*; and there were gone fifty piece of Cannon out of the Arſenal. Already had the King ſent to demand of the *Arch-duke* and the *Infanta* in what manner they would that he ſhould paſs their Country, either as a Friend, or an Enemy. Every hour of delay ſeemed to him a year, as if he had preſaged ſome misfortune to himſelf: and certainly both Heaven and Earth had given but too many Prognoſticks of what arrived. A very great Eclipſe of the whole body of the Sun, which happened in the year 1608: A terrible Comet, which appeared the year preceding: Earthquakes in ſeveral places: Monſters born in divers Countries of *France*: Rains of blood, which fell in ſeveral places: A great Plague, which afflicted *Paris* in the year 1606: Apparitions of Fantoſms, and many other Prodigies kept men in fear of ſome horrible event.

His Enemies were at preſent in a profound ſilence: which poſſibly was not cauſed onely by their Conſternation, and by the fear of the ſucceſs of his Arms, but out of the expectation they had to ſee ſucceed ſome great blow, in which lay all their hopes. It muſt needs be that there were many conſpiracies againſt the Life of this good King; ſince from twenty places advice was given of it; ſince both in *Spain* and *Milan* a report was ſpread of his death by a printed Paper; ſince there paſſed a Courrier eight days before he was aſſaſſinated, through the City of *Liege*, that ſaid that he carried News to the Princes of *Germany* that he was killed; ſince at *Montargis* there was found a Billet upon the Altar, containing the prediction of his approaching death by a determinate blow; ſince in fine, the report ran through all *France*, that he would not out-live that year, and that he would die a tragick death in the fifty ſeventh year of his Age. Himſelf, who was not over-credulous, gave ſome faith to theſe Prognoſticks, and ſeemed as one condemned to death: So ſad and caſt down he was, though naturally he was neither melancholy nor fearful.

Advice from ſeveral places that his life ſhould be attempted.

He ſeems to believe them, and fear.

There had been at *Paris* for about two years, a certain wicked Rogue, named *Francis Ravaillac*, a Native of the Country of *Angoumois*; red haired, down-looked, and melancholy, who had been a Monk; but after having quitted the Frock he before profeſſed, was turned Sollicitor of buſineſſes, and come to *Paris*. It was not known whether he was brought hither to give this blow, or whether being come out of ſome other deſigne, he had been induced to this execrable enterprize by thoſe people, who knowing that he had yet in his heart ſome leven of the League, and that falſe perſwaſion that the King was about to overturn the Catholick Religion in *Germany*, judged him proper for the blow.

Who *Ravaillac* was.

He is induced to kill the King, but it is not known by whom.

If it be demanded who were the Devils and Furies who inſpired him with ſo damnable a thought, and who ſpurred him forward to effect his wicked diſpoſition; the Hiſtory anſwers that it knows nothing; and that in a thing ſo important, it is not permitted to make paſs ſuſpitions and conjectures for aſſured truths. The Judges themſelves who examined him, durſt not open their mouths, nor ever ſpoke but covertly.

The King departs the *Louvre* to go to the Arſenal.

What perſons were with him.

His Coach ſtopt in the ſtreet of the *Ferronnerie*.

But ſee here how he executed his wicked deſigne! On the morrow after the Inſtalment, being the 14 of *May*, the King went forth of the *Louvre* about four a Clock in the Evening, to go to the Arſenal to viſit *Sully*, who was indiſpoſed, and to ſee as he paſſed the preparations made at the Bridge of *Noſtre-dame* and the *Hoſtel de Ville* for the reception of the Queen. He was at the bottom of his Coach, having the Duke of *Eſpernon* by his ſide; the Duke of *Montbazon*, the Marſhal of *Lavardin*, *Roquelaure*, *La force*, *Mirebeau*, and *Liancour* chief Eſquire, were before, and in the Boots. His Coach entring out of the ſtreet of St. *Honorio* into that of the *Ferronnerie*, or Ironmongers, found on the right hand a Cart laden with Wine, and on the left another laden with Hay; which cauſing ſome trouble, he was conſtrained to ſtop: for the ſtreet is very narrow by reaſon of the ſhops builded againſt the wall of the Church-yard of St. *Innocents*. King *Henry* the ſecond had formerly commanded them to be beaten down, to render that paſſage more free: but it was not executed. Alas, that one half of *Paris* had not rather been beaten down, then it have ſeen this great miſfortune, which hath been the cauſe of ſo many infinite other miſeries! The Foot-men being paſſed through the Church-yard of St. *Innocents* to avoid the trouble, and no perſon being near the Coach, this wicked perſon, who for a long time had obſtinately followed the King to give his blow, obſerving the ſide on which he ſate, thruſt himſelf between the ſhops and the Coach; and ſetting one foot on one of the ſpokes of the wheel, and the other againſt a ſtall, with an enraged reſolution gave him a ſtab with a knife between the ſecond and third Rib, a little beneath the heart. At this blow the King cryed out, *I am wounded.* But the Villain, without being affrighted, redoubled it, and ſtruck him in the heart; of which he died immediately, without ſo much as caſting forth a ſigh. The Murderer was ſo aſſured, that he yet gave a third blow, which light only in the ſleeve of the Duke of *Monbazon*. Afterwards he neither took care to flee, nor to conceal his knife; but ſtood ſtill, as if to make himſelf be ſeen, and to glorifie or boaſt in ſo fair an exploit.

Ravaillac killeth him.

He was taken on the place, examined by the Commiſſioners of Parliament, judged by the Chamber of Aſſemblies, and by ſentence drawn by four horſes in the *Greve*, after having had the fleſh of his breaſts, his arms and thighs, drawn off with burning Pincers, without his

teſtifying

He is torn with burning pincers, and drawn in pieces by four horſes.

teſtifying the leaſt emotion of fear or grief at ſo ſtrange tortures. Which ſtrongly confirmed the ſuſpicion had, that certain Emiſſaries under the mask of Piety and Religion had inſtructed and inchanted him with falſe aſſurances that he ſhould die a Martyr, if he killed Him whom they made believe was the ſworn enemy of the Church.

The Kings body opened, and found that he might yet live 30 years.

The Duke *d'Eſpernon* ſeeing the King ſpeechleſs and dead, cauſed the Coach to turn, and carried his body to the *Louvre*, where he cauſed it to be opened in the preſence of twenty ſix Phyſitians and Chirurgeons; who found all parts ſo ſound, that in the courſe of Nature he might yet have lived thirty years.

His Entrails were the ſame hour ſent to St. *Denis*, and interr'd without any Ceremony. The Fathers Jeſuites demanded the heart, and carried it to their Church *de la Fleche*, where this great King had given them his houſe to build that fair Colledge at preſent ſeen. The Corps embalmed in a ſheet of Lead, covered with a Coffin of Wood, and a cloath of Gold over it, was placed in the Kings Chamber under a Canopy, with two Altars on each ſide, on which Maſs was ſaid for eighteen days continuance. Afterwards it was conducted to St. *Denis*, where it was buried with the ordinary Ceremonies, eight days after that of *Henry* the third his Predeceſſor. For it is to be underſtood, that the body of *Henry* the third remained till then in the Church of St. *Cornille* in *Compeigne*, from whence the Duke of *Eſpernon*

He is buried at St. *Denis*.

Eſpernon, and *Bellegarde* great Eſquire, formerly his favourites, brought it to St. *Denis*, and cauſed his funerals to be celebrated; Civility obliging that he ſhould be buried before his Succeſſor.

The Kings death was concealed from the City all the reſt of that day, and a good part of the morrow; whilſt the Queen diſpoſed the Grandees and the Parliament to give her the Regency. She obtained it without much difficulty, having led the young King her Son to the Parliament; and the Prince of *Conde*, and the Count of *Soiſſons*, who alone could have oppoſed it, being abſent. The firſt was at *Milan*, as we have ſaid before; and the ſecond at his houſe at *Blandy*, whither he was retired diſcontented, ſome days before the Inſtalment of the Queen.

The Queen made Regent.

When the fame of this Tragical accident was ſpread through *Paris*, and that they knew aſſuredly that the King whom they believed only wounded, was dead; that mixture of hope and fear which kept this great City in ſuſpence, broke forth on a ſuddain into extravagant cries, and furious groans. Some through grief became immoveable & Statue-like; others ran through the ſtreets like mad men; others embraced their friends, without ſaying any thing, but, *Oh what misfortune!* ſome ſhut themſelves up in their houſes; others threw themſelves upon the ground: women were ſeen with their diſheveled haire run about howling and lamenting: Fathers told

The great deſolation in *Paris*, when they knew of the Kings death.

their Children, *What will become of you, my Children? you have loſt your Father*. Thoſe who had moſt apprehenſion of the time to come, and who remembred the horrible calamities of the paſt Wars, lamented the misfortune of *France*, and ſaid, that that accurſed blow which had pierced the heart of the King, cut the throat of all true *French-men*. It is reported that many were ſo lively touched that they died, ſome upon the place, and others a few days after. In fine, this ſeemed not to be mourning for the death of one man alone, but for the one half of all men: It might have been ſaid, that every one had loſt his whole family, all his goods, and all his hopes, by the death of this great King.

His age, and the time of of his reign.

He died at the age of fifty ſeven years and five months, the thirty eighth of his reign of *Navarre*, and the one and twentieth of that of *France*.

His two wives, *Margaret* and *Mary*.

He was married twice, as we have ſaid before: Firſt with *Margaret* of *France*, by whom he had no children: The ſecond time with *Mary* of *Medicis*. *Margaret* was Daughter to King *Henry* the ſecond, and Siſter to the Kings *Francis* the ſecond, *Charles* the ninth, and *Henry* the third; from whom he was divorced by ſentence of the Prelates deputed for that purpoſe from the Pope. *Mary* of *Medicis* was Daughter to *Francis*, and Niece to *Ferdinand* Dukes of *Florence*. She had three Sons and three Daughters.

He had three Sons by *Mary*,

The Sons were all born at *Fontain-bleau*.

The firſt named *Lewis*, came into the world on the 27 *September*, in the year 1601. at Eleven a Clock at night. He was King after him, and had the Surname of Juſt. The ſecond was born on the 16 of *April* 1607. he had the title of Duke of *Orleans*; but no name, becauſe he died before the Ceremony of his Baptiſm was celebrated, in the year 1611. The third took birth on the 25 of *April* 1608. and was named *John Baptiſta Gaſton*, and had title Duke of *Anjou*; but the ſecond Son being dead, that of Duke of *Orleans* was given him, which he bore to his death, which happened two years ago.

The eldeſt of the Daughters was born at *Fontain-bleau*, the 22 of *November* 1602. ſhe was the ſecond child, and was named *Elizabeth*, or *Iſabella*: ſhe was married to *Philip* the fourth King of *Spain*, and died ſome years paſt. She was a Princeſs of a great heart, and had a ſpirit and brain above her Sex: the *Spaniards* therefore ſaid, that ſhe was truly Daughter to *Henry* the Great. The ſecond was born at the *Louvre* at *Paris* the 10. of *February* 1606. There was given to her the name of *Chriſtina*; and ſhe Eſpouſed *Victor Amadeo*, then Prince of *Piedmont*, and after Duke of *Savoy*; a Prince of the greateſt vertue and capacity in the world. The third was born in the ſame place, on the 25. of *November*, being the Feaſt of St. *Katherine*, in the year 1609. and had name *Henrietta-Maria*. This is the preſent Queen-Mother of *England*,

and three Daughters.

widow

Part III.

widow of the unfortunate King *Charles Stuart*, whom his Subjects cruelly deſpoiled of his Royalty and Life: but heaven, the protector of Soveraigns, hath glorioufly re-eſtabliſhed his Son *Charles* the ſecond.

He had eight Natural children of divers Miſtreſſes.

Beſides theſe ſix Legitimate children, he had likewiſe eight Natural ones, of four different Miſtreſſes, without counting thoſe whom he did not own.

Two Sons and a Daughter of *Gabriella.*

Of *Gabriella d' Eſtrees* Marchioneſs of *Monceaux* and Dutcheſs of *Beaufort*, he had *Cæſar* Duke of *Vendoſme*, who yet lives, and was born in the month of *June* in the year 1594; *Alexander* great Prior of *France*, who died priſoner of Eſtate; and *Henrietta*, married to *Charles* of *Lorrain* Duke of *Elbeuf.*

A Son and a Daughter of the Marchioneſs of *Verneuil.*

Of *Henrietta de Balſac d' Entragues*, whom he made Marchioneſs of *Verneuil*, he had *Henry* Biſhop of *Mets*, who yet lives; and *Gabriella*, who Eſpouſed *Bernard* of *Nogaret* Duke of *Valette*, at preſent Duke of *Eſpernon*, by whom ſhe had the Duke of *Candale*, dead ſome time ſince; and a Daughter at preſent a Religious Carmilite: after which ſhe died.

Of the Counteſs of *Moret* one Son.

Of *Jacqueline de Bueil*, to whom he gave the County of *Moret*, was born *Anthony* Count of *Moret*, who was killed in the Service of the Duke of *Orleans*, in the Battail of *Caſtlenaudary*, where the Duke of *Montmorency* was taken. This was a young Prince, whoſe Spirit and Courage promiſed much. The Marquis of *Vardes* Eſpouſed afterward this *Jacqueline de Bueil.*

Of *Charlotta d'Eſſards*, to whom he gave the land of *Romorantin*, came two Daughters; *Jane*, who is Abbeſſe of *Fontevrault*; and *Mary-Henrietta*, who was of *Chelles*. He loved all his children Legitimate and Natural with a like affection, but with different conſideration. He would not that they ſhould call him *Monſieur*, or *Sir*; a name which ſeemed to render Children ſtrangers to their Fathers, and which denoted ſervitude and ſubjection; but that they ſhould call him *Papa*, a name of tenderneſs and love. And certainly in the Old Teſtament, God took the names of Lord, the Mighty God, the God of Hoſts, and others, to ſet forth his greatneſs and power: but in the Chriſtian Law, which is a Law of Grace and Charity, he commanded us to make our Prayers as his Children, by thoſe ſweet words, *Our Father which art in Heaven*.

Part. III. Of *Madam d' Eſſards* two daughters.

He loved all his children, and would have them call him *Papa*.

There remains at preſent that we put here a Summary recapitulation of the Life of this great King, and after erect an Eternal Monument to his glory, in the name of all *France*, which can never ſufficiently acknowledge its Immortal obligations to his Heroick vertue.

Summary recital of the Life of *Henry* the Great.

He began the firſt motions of his life in the Camp, at the Sound of Trumpets; his Mother brought him into the world with a wonderful courage; his Grand-father inſpired ſtrength into him the firſt day he ſaw him; and he was brought up to labor from his tendereſt infancy.

The firſt knowledge that age gave him, was to reſent the death of his Father killed at the

Part III. ſiege of *Rouen*, and to ſee himſelf encompaſſed with dangers on all ſides, diſtant from Court, his friends diſ-favoured, his ſervants perſecuted, and his ruine conjured by his enemies.

His Mother, a generous and able woman, gave him excellent inſtructions for Morality and Policy; but very ill ones for Religion; ſo that he was a *Hugonot* by Engagement, and not by Election. And he often profeſſed that he was not prepoſſeſſed, that he ſhould be ready to clear and lay himſelf open, and that if they could make him ſee a better way then that he followed, he willingly and faithfully would walk in it; but that till then he was to be tolerated, and not perſecuted.

At the age of fifteen years he became chief of the *Hugonot* party, and gave ſuch ſenſible advices, that the greateſt Captains had cauſe to admire him, and to repent that they had not followed him. He paſſed the firſt flowers of his youth, part in Arms, and a part in his Lands of *Gaſcoin*, where he remained till the age of nineteen years. He was then enticed, to come to Court, by a Marriage as illegitimate as cruel: for we may ſay, that the preſent Nuptial was the ſuddain death of his Mother; the Feaſt, the general Maſſacre of his friends; and the Morrow of his Marriage, his Captivity, which endured almoſt four years, at the mercy of his moſt cruel enemies, and in a Court the moſt wicked and moſt corrupted that ever was known. His courage was not at all weakned by this ſervitude, nor could his ſoul be infected among ſo many corruptions: But the Charms of the Ladies which Queen *Katherine* made uſe of to retain him, begat in him that weakneſs and vice which indured all his life, not to refuſe any of thoſe deſires their beauty inſpired. Part III.

To withdraw himſelf from the ſervitude of the Court, he caſt himſelf into the ſnare of his ancient party, and of the *Hugonot* Religion. He received all thoſe troubles, and all thoſe perplexities which the Chiefs of a Civil War make proof of; his dignity of General not diſpenſing with the pains and dangers of a ſimple Souldier. Thrice did he oblige the Court to grant him Peace and Priviledges to his party: but thrice they violated them; and he ſeveral times beheld ſeven or eight Royal Armies make head againſt him.

His valour, which had already appeared in many occaſions, ſignalized it ſelf with great Renowne at the Battail of *Coutras*. This was the firſt important blow that he ſtruck on the head of the League. A little after it, having aſſembled the Eſtates at *Blois*, to Arm the whole Kingdom againſt him, and exclude him from the Crown of *France*; the *Guiſes*, who were believed the Authors of this Tragedy, were themſelves made the terrible *Cataſtrophe*; but which filled all with flame, blood and confuſion. The Duke of *Mayenne* Armed himſelf to Revenge the Death of his Brothers; and the King almoſt quite abandoned and ſhut up in *Tours*, was enforced to call him to his aid.

Our

Our *Hero* paſſed by all diſtruſts and all fears ſome would have infuſed into him, to take the part of his Soveraign.

They marched to *Paris* and beſieged it; but upon the point to enter, *Henry* the third is Aſſaſſinated by a Monk. The right of Succeſſion calling our *Henry* to the Throne, he found the way croſſed with a thouſand terrible difficulties; the League in head againſt him, the ſervants of the defunct King little affected to him, the Grandees every one for his particular ends. The whole Catholick Religion Leagued againſt him; without, the *Spaniard*, the *Pope*, the *Savoyard*, the *Lorrainer*; within, on one ſide the people and the great Cities, on the other the *Hugonots*, who tormented him with their continual diſtruſts. He could not advance one pace without finding ſome obſtacle; ſo many days, ſo many battails. His ſubjects endeavoured to overthrow him as a publick enemy, and he endeavoured to regain them like a good Father. In his Cloſet, and in his Council, there were only diſpleaſures and bitterneſſes, cauſed by an infinity of diſcontents, treaſons and pernicious deſigns, which were from moment to moment diſcovered againſt his Perſon and againſt his Eſtate. Every day a double Combat, a double Victory; the one againſt his enemies, the other againſt his followers: uſing Prudence and Cunning, where Generoſity would not ſerve.

At *Arques* he made it appear he could not be overcome; and at *Yvry*, that he knew how

to

to vanquiſh. Every where, where he appeared, all yeilded to his Arms: The League dayly loſt places and Provinces: It was beaten by his Lieutenants in other places, as by himſelf in the heart of his Kingdom. He had forced *Paris*, if he could have reſolved to looſe it; but by ſparing it, he abſolutely gained not onely its walls, but its hearts.

The Duke of *Parma* ſtopt a little the progreſs of his ſucceſſes; but he could not change their courſe. Vertue and Fortune, or rather Divine Providence, ſeemed linked together to crown him with Glory. God viſibly aſſiſted him in all his deſignes, and preſerved him from an infinite number of treaſons and horrid attempts which were dayly formed againſt his Life. In fine, he overthrew the intentions of the Thirdlings, and prevented the reſolutions of the Eſtates of the League, by cauſing himſelf to be inſtructed in the Catholick Religion, and re-entring into the boſome of the holy Church.

When that pretext of Religion was wanting to his enemies, all the party of the League mouldred away; *Paris*, and all the great Cities, acknowledged him; the Duke of *Mayenne*, though very late, was conſtrained to become his ſubject, and return to his duty; and all the Chiefs of the League treated ſeparately. This ſhew'd a great deal of prudence and cunning in the King, to receive them thus disjoyntly: for if they had all together made a treaty of common accord, the party had by this means conſerved its bonds together, and not been overthrown, but appeaſed.

When he had got the upperhand in his Affairs, and was reconciled to the Pope, and that his ſubjects were reconciled with him, the ill counſel of the *Hugonots*, who deſired always to ſee him in trouble, perſwaded him to declare a War againſt *Spain*. It was now that he thought he ſhould fall into a worſe Eſtate then ever. They took from him *Dourlens* after the gain of one battel; *Calais* and *Ardres* by ſtorm, and *Amiens* by ſurprize. The reſt of the League which lay hid under the cinders, began to rekindle; the diſcontents of the great ones, to be diſcovered; Conſpiracies were formed on all ſides; his ſervants were amazed, his enemies emboldened. But his Vertue, which ſeemed to ſleep in proſperity, rouzed it ſelf in adverſity: he encouraged his friends, re-took *Amiens*, and forced the *Spaniard* to make peace by the treaty of *Vervin*.

The Duke of *Savoy*, thinking to deceive him in the reſtitution of the Marquiſate of *Saluces*, and to raiſe factions in his Realm which ſhould hinder the King from demanding reaſon of him, found that he had to do with a Prince who knew as well how to over-reach him in his deſignes, as to conquer his forces: for he forced him among thoſe rocks where he boaſted he had nothing to fear but the thunder-bolts of Heaven, and made him ſhamefully reſtore what he had unjuſtly uſurped.

At the ſame time the King had thoughts, as well for the ſecurity and tranquillity of *France*, as for his own, to generate Children of a lawful marriage. Heaven gave him ſix, and with them a peace of ten years, which was onely lightly troubled by the conſpiracy of *Byron*, by the devices of the Duke of *Bouillon*, and by ſome popular riſings againſt the *Pancarte*, or *Sol pour livre*.

During all this, he laboured principally for two things: the one, his great deſigne, of which we have ſpoken; for which he made friends and allies on all ſides, cleared his revenues, paid his debts with as good credit as if he had been a Merchant, gathered monies, and pacified all differences which were between thoſe Princes with whom he would aſſociate. The other was to repair the damages and ruines of *France*, which a forty years civil War had cauſed; remove thoſe cauſes which imbittered and divided ſpirits; reform thoſe diſorders which diſfigured the face of the Eſtate, make it flouriſhing and rich, to the end his ſubjects might live happily under the wings of his protection and his juſtice.

In the mean time himſelf was not free from troubles, perplexities and diſguſts: his Miſtreſſes cauſed him a thouſand vexations in the midſt of his pleaſures: he found thorns even in his Nuptial-bed, and in the ill humour of his wife; and *Conchini* was cauſer of griefs to him: juſt as a little but vexatious Mouſe may furiouſly trouble and turmoile the noble Lyon.

As he was ready to mount on horſe-back to begin his great deſigne by the aſſiſtance of his Allies, he loſt his Life by the moſt deteſtable Parricide was ever known. Thus he whom ſo many Pikes, ſo many Muſquets and Cannons, ſo many Squadrons and Battalions of men, could not hurt in the trenches and in the field of battel, was killed with a Knife by a wicked and trayterous Rogue, in the midſt of his capital City, in a Coach, and on a day of publick Joy. Unhappy blow, which put an end to all the joys of *France*, and which opened a wound which to this day hath left its ſcar.

Henry was of a middle ſtature, diſpoſed and active, hardened to labour and travel. His body was well formed, his temperament able and ſtrong, and his health perfect; onely about the age of fifty years, he had ſome light aſſaults of the Gout, but which ſoon paſſed away, and left behinde them no weakneſs. He had his forehead high, his eyes lively and aſſured, his noſe Aquiline, his complexion ruddy, his countenance ſweet and noble; and yet withal, his preſence Warlike and Martial, his hair brown, and very thin. He wore his beard large, and his hair very ſhort. He began to grow gray at the age of thirty five years: upon which he was accuſtomed to ſay to thoſe who wonder'd at it, *It is the wind of my adverſities hath blown me this.*

Parallel of his adverſities and proſperities.

"Indeed to conſider well all his life from his "very birth, few Princes will be found who "have ſuffered ſo much as he; and it will be "difficult to tell if he had more croſſes or more "proſperities. He was born the Son of a King, "but of a King deſpoiled of his Eſtates. He had "a Mother generous, and of a great courage; "but a *Hugonot*, and an enemy of the Court.

“He gained the battel of *Contras*; but he loſt a
“little after the Prince of *Conde* his Couſin, and
“his right hand. The League ſtirred up his
“vertue, and made him know it; but it thought
“to overthrow him. It was the cauſe that the
“King having called him to his aſſiſtance, he
“found himſelf at the gates of *Paris*, as if God
“had led him by the hand: but *Paris* armed
“it ſelf againſt him, and all his hopes were
“almoſt diſſipated by the ſcattering of the Army
“which beſieged that City. It was without
“doubt a great happineſs that the Crown of
“*France* fell to him, there having never been a
“ſucceſſion more diſtent in any hereditary* Eſtate:
“for there were ten or eleven degrees
“between *Henry* the third and him; and when
“he was born, there was nine Princes of the
“blood before him: to wit, King *Henry* 2. and
“his five ſons; King *Anthony* of *Navarre* his
“father, and two ſons of that *Anthony*, eldeſt
“brothers of our *Henry*. All theſe Princes died
“to make room for his ſucceſſion. But he
“found it ſo embroyled, that we may ſay he
“ſuffered an infinity of labours, pains and hazards,
“before he could gather the fair flowers
“of this Crown. Young he eſpouſed the ſiſter
“of King *Charles*, which ſeemed a match very
“advantagious for him: but this marriage was
“a ſnare to entrap both him and his friends.
“Afterwards, that Lady, in ſtead of being his
“Conſort, became his trouble; and in ſtead of
“being his honour, became his ſhame. His ſecond
“Wife brought him forth fair children,

“to

* There are more then fifty conſpiracies againſt his perſon.

His adverſities whet his ſpirit and courage.

Why Princes who come young to the Crown, ſeldome learn to govern well.

“to his no little joy: but her grumblings and diſdains were the cauſers of a thouſand diſcontents. He triumphed over all his enemies, and became Arbitrator of *Chriſtendom*: but the more powerful he made himſelf, the more was their hatred envenomed, and the more means uſed they to deſtroy him; ſo that after having plotted an infinite number of conſpiracies againſt his life, they found in the end a *Ravaillac*, who executed in the end what ſo many * others had failed in.

* *There are more then fifty conſpiracies againſt his perſon.*

“Now it muſt be acknowledged that all theſe adverſities which he ſuffered, ought to whet his ſpirit and his courage; and that in fine he ſhould be the greateſt of Kings, becauſe he came to the Crown through ſo many difficulties, and in an age very mature.

His adverſities whet his ſpirit and courage.

“And certainly it is difficult and very rare for thoſe who are born to a Crown, and bred up to a near hope to mount into a Throne after the death of their father, or who finde themſelves too ſoon raiſed to it, ever to learn well the Art of raigning; be it their not being ſo happy as to be educated under the care of a Mother ſo vertuous and ſo affectionate as that great Queen, who hath ſo diligently cauſed to be inſtructed King *Lewis* the 14 her ſon in all good Rules, and in all Maximes of Chriſtian Policy; or ſo happy as to be bleſſed with a Miniſter ſo wiſe and ſo intereſted for their good, as that young Monarch hath found in the perſon of Cardinal *Mazarine*.

Why Princes who come young to the Crown, ſeldome learn to govern well.

“The reaſons of this are, that ordinarily

“ thoſe perſons into whoſe hands they fall in
“ their infancy, deſiring to conſerve to themſelves
“ the Authority and the Government, in
“ ſtead of obliging or indeed conſtraining them
“ to apply their ſpirits to things ſolid and neceſſary,
“ act ſo cunningly, that they employ
“ them onely in trifles unworthy of them, and
“ amuſe them with ſo much ſubtilty, that it is
“ impoſſible that a young Prince can know it.
“ In ſtead of laying inceſſantly before their eyes
“ the true Grandeur of Kings, which conſiſts in
“ the exerciſe of their Authority, they feed
“ them onely with appearances and images of
“ that greatneſs, as are exteriour pomps and
“ magnificences, wherein there is onely pride
“ and vanity. In fine, in ſtead of inſtructing them
“ diligently in what they ought to know, and in
“ what they ought to do, (for all the knowledge
“ of Kings ought to be reduced into practice)
“ they keep them in a profound ignorance of all
“ their Affairs, that they may always be Maſters,
“ and that they may never be able to be without
“ them. From whence it happens that a
“ Prince, though he be great, knowing his
“ own weakneſs, judges himſelf incapable to
“ govern; and from that moment wherein
“ he is poſſeſſed with this opinion, he muſt
“ needs renounce the conduct of his Eſtate, if
“ that he have not indeed extraordinary natural
“ qualities, and a heart truly Royal. Moreover,
“ theſe perſons would ſeize themſelves of
“ all Avenues, and hinder honeſt men from approaching
“ thoſe tender ears: or if they cannot

“ hinder

Part III.

“hinder their approaches, they are not wanting
“to render them ſuſpected, or to deprive them
“of all belief in the ſpirit of theſe young Prin-
“ces; making them paſs with them either for
“their enemies, or people ill affected; or elſe
“for ridiculous or impertinent. Moreover,
“they have ſome Emiſſaries who infatuate
“them with flatteries, with exceſſive praiſes
“and adorations; who never let them know
“any thing but what ſhall be to their ends;
“who improve their defaults by continual
“complacences; who make them believe they
“have a perfect intelligence of all things, when
“they know nothing; who make them con-
“ceive that Royalty is onely a Soveraign Bau-
“ble, that travel befits not a King, and that
“the functions of Royalty being laborious, are
“by conſequence baſe and ſervile. In this man-
“ner they ſoon diſguſt them with their own
“Command; they accuſtom them to have
“Maſters, becauſe they have yet neither ſo
“much knowledge nor ſo much courage as to
“be Maſters. And thus theſe poor Princes,
“being not at all contradicted, but always a-
“dored; nor having any experience of them-
“ſelves, or ever ſuffered pain or neceſſity, be-
“come often preſumptuous and abſolute in
“their fancies, and believing their puiſſance
“to have Peerage with that of Gods: they be-
“gin to conſider nothing but their paſſion,
“their pleaſure and humour, as if Mankinde
“were created for them, whilſt they were
“created wiſely to order and govern Mankind;

“who let profuſion and waſte be made of the life and goods of their ſubjects; and who with an unparallel'd inſenſibility, hearken no more to their Laments and Groans, then to the Lowings of a ſlaughtered Ox.

“On the contrary, thoſe who come to the Crown at a greater diſtance, and in a riper age, are almoſt always better inſtructed in their affairs: they apply themſelves more ſtrongly to Govern their Eſtates; they will alwaies hold the Rudder; they are juſter, more tender, and more merciful; they know better how to manage their Revenues; they conſerve with more care the blood and the goods of their ſubjects; they more willingly hear their complaints, and do better Juſtice; they do not with ſo much vigor uſe their abſolute power, which oft-times makes the people deſpair, and cauſes ſtrange revolutions.

Thoſe who come to a Crown at greater diſtance and a more ripe age, are more capable and better.

“If the reaſons why they are ſo be ſought, they are becauſe they have been in a Poſt or place, where they have often heard truth: where they have underſtood what ignominy it is for a Prince not to enjoy his own perſonal power, but to leave it to another: where, though they have had ſome flatterers, they have likewiſe had open enemies, who by cenſuring their faults have induced a Reformation: where they have heard blamed the faults of that Government under which they were, and have blamed them themſelves; ſo that they are obliged to do better, and not

The reaſons of it.

“to

Part III. "to follow what they have condemned: where "they have ſtudied to govern themſelves "wiſely, becauſe they were dependants, and "fearful of puniſhment: where they have of- "ten heard the complaints of particular per- "ſons, and ſeen the miſeries of the people: in "fine, where they have underſtood by ſuffer- "ing, what evil is; and to have pity of thoſe "who ſuffer injuſtice, becauſe they themſelves "have proved the rigour of a too high and ſe- "vere Government. We have two fair Ex- "amples in *Lewis* the twelfth, ſurnamed *the* "*Father of the people*, and in our *Henry*, two "of the beſt Kings who in the laſt ages have "born the Scepter of the Flowers *de Lis*.

A myſtick Crown to the glory of *Henry* the Great.

Now who would gather together and worthily compoſe all the Heroick vertues, the Noble actions and Eminent qualities of *Henry* the Great, would make him a Crown much more precious and reſplendent then that wherewith his head was adorned on the day of his Coronation. That treaſure of freedom and ſincerity, free and exempt from malice, from gall and bitterneſs, ſhould be the matter more precious then Gold. His Renown and his Glory, which will never have end, ſhould be the Circle. His Victories of *Coutras*, of *Arques*, of *Ivry*, of *Fontaine-Franzoiſe*; his Negotiations of the peace of *Vervin*, of his accommodations between the *Venetians* and the Pope, of the Truce between the *Spaniard* and the *Hollander*, and that great League with all the Princes of *Chriſtendom*, for execution of the deſigne of which we have ſpoken, ſhould be the Part. III. branches. Then his warlike valour, his generoſity, his conſtancy, his credit, his wiſdome, his prudence, his activity, his vigilance, his œconomy, his juſtice, and a hundred other virtues, ſhould be the precious ſtones. Amongſt which, that Paternal and Cordial love he had for his people, would caſt a fire more lively and bright then the Carbuncle: The firmneſs of his courage, alwaies invincible in dangers, would bear the Price and Beauty of a Diamond: And his unparallel'd Clemency, which raiſed up thoſe enemies he had overthrown, would appear like an Emerald, which ſends forth enlivenings and joy into the eyes of all that behold it. To continue the *Metamorphoſis*; I will yet ſay, that ſo many wiſe Laws which he made for Juſtice, for Policy, and for his Revenues; ſo many good and uſeful Eſtabliſhments of all ſorts of Manufactures, which produced to *France* the yearly profit of many Millions; ſo many proud buildings, as the Galleries of the *Louvre*, the *Pont-neuf*, the *Place Royal*, the *Colledge Royal*, the Keys for Merchants of the River *Seine*, *Fontain-bleau*, *Monceaux*, St. *Germain*; ſo many publick works, Bridges, Cauſwaies, Highwaies repaired; ſo many Churches rebuilded in many places of the Realm, ſhould be as the Ingravements and Imbelliſhments.

Let us Crown then with a thouſand prayſes the immortal memory of that great King, the love of the *French*, and the terror of the

Spaniards; the Honour of his Age, and the Admiration of Poſterity: Let us make him live in our hearts and in our affections, in deſpite of the rage of thoſe wicked perſons deprived him of life: Let us ſhout forth as many Acclamations to his glory, as he hath done benefits to *France*. He was a *Hercules*, who cut off the Head of the *Hydra*, by overturning the League. He was greater then *Alexander*, and greater then *Pompey*, becauſe he was as Valiant; but he was more Juſt: he gained as many victories, but he gained more hearts. He conquered the *Gaules*, as well as *Julius Cæſar*; but he conquered them to give them liberty; and *Cæſar* ſubjugated them to enſlave them. Let his Name then be raiſed above that of the *Hercules*, the *Alexanders*, the *Pompeys*, and the *Cæſars*: Let his Reign b the Model of good Kings, and his Examples the clear Lights to illuminate the eyes of other Princes: Let his Poſterity be Eternally Crowned with the Flowers *de Lis*: Let them be alwaies happy, alwaies Triumphant. A to compleat our wiſhes, let *Lewis* the Victorious his Grand-child, Reſemble, or if it b poſſible, Surpaſs him.

FINIS.